RELIGION IN LIFE

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Vol. XVIII

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"Thou didst not come down from the Cross when they shouted to Thee, mocking and reviling Thee, 'Come down from the cross and we will believe that Thou art He.' Thou didst not come down, for again Thou wouldst not enslave man by a miracle, and didst crave faith given freely, not based on miracle. Thou didst crave for free love and not the base raptures of the slave before the might that has overawed him for ever."

—From Fyodor Dostoievsky, "The Grand Inquisitor," in The Brothers Karamazov. Translation by Constance Garnett; used by permission of The Macmillan Company.

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How Does Jesus Save?

S. PAUL SCHILLING

JOHN JACOB NILES, distinguished collector of American folk music, tells of discovering in 1933 what has since become one of our best-loved carols. In Murphy, North Carolina, he heard the young daughter of some traveling evangelists singing:

I wonder as I wander, out under the sky, How Jesus our Savior did come for to die, For poor on'ry people like you and like I. I wonder as I wander, out under the sky.

The poetic simplicity of the words and the haunting beauty of the music are probably a blend of the folk piety of medieval Britain and the rugged religious life of the southern Appalachians. Yet there is a universal quality in the question asked—a question which theologians have pondered for centuries, and which has vital import for earnest Christians everywhere.

Why did Jesus die? What is the meaning of the "atonement"? How does Jesus "save"? Such questions touch the very heart of the Christian faith. Unfortunately, they are treated by multitudes of Protestants today with either a dogmatism which obscures their fundamental meaning or a casual indifference which misses it almost entirely. Few indeed are the laymen who can state with any clarity what they mean when they call Christ Savior. The views of others are partial and shallow. In one church in the east a few years ago, one official member stoutly maintained that Jesus' significance as Redeemer lay purely in the noble example of his life, while the teacher of an adult Bible class stubbornly insisted that the exemplary life of Christ had nothing to do with salvation, since he redeemed men by paying the penalty for their sins with his blood shed on Calvary. Misunderstanding, perplexity, and confusion are widespread.

No doubt this situation is partly due to a failure on the part of many ministers to instruct their people in the great doctrines of the church. We expect candidates for membership to "accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior," but seldom do we take the trouble to teach them what these

¹ "I Wonder as I Wander," Collected and Arranged by John Jacob Niles. Copyright, 1934, by G. Schirmer, Inc. Printed by permission.

S. PAUL SCHILLING, S.T.B., Ph.D., is Professor of Systematic Theology at Westminster Theological Seminary, Westminster, Maryland. At this Lenten season, he gives us a historical and constructive study of the Atonement.

great terms signify. We proclaim with facile generality that the world can be saved only through Jesus Christ, but rarely go on to specify what we mean. These circumstances in turn are often traceable to the vagueness of our own convictions. If we are really to know Christ as Savior, and if the church which is founded on him is to serve our age with maximum effectiveness, we cannot evade responsibility for thinking through the meaning of the atonement. We need to add to the reverent wonder of the mountain carol a strenuous endeavor to answer as adequately as possible the question it raises.

A prerequisite to this effort is some understanding of what is involved in the salvation which Christian faith affirms is realized through Christ. In its most distinctive usage, the term unquestionably has reference to sin. In the view of the present writer, sin is disobedience to God through the choice of lower values when higher ones are recognized and possible. It is alienation from God through attitudes or actions for which the individual is in God's sight responsible. Salvation, then, is deliverance from the power of sin to a life of righteousness in filial fellowship with God, begun in this world and deepened and enriched in the life to come. It is victory over those ways of thought and life which separate us from God and our fellows. It involves the restoration of inner harmony, the reestablishment of right human relations, and reconciliation with God.

While this is the central meaning of salvation, the term has broader connotations. Men need not only release from sin as here defined, but also help in conquering the human limitations out of which the possibility of sin arises. Sin, it seems to me, cannot rightly be identified with finitude, and so regarded as inherent in human nature. Man cannot justly be condemned for that which he cannot help being or doing. Genuine freedom of choice is an essential condition of real sin. Yet this insistence in no sense denies the existence of those conditions, within human nature and in our social environment, which inevitably give rise to temptation and hence potential sin. The task of controlling our physical drives in accord with spiritual values, the need of subordinating individual desires to the common welfare, the problem of resisting the pull of selfish ways so prevalent in society—these and other aspects of our human predicament impose burdens on the finite individual which in his own strength he is unable to bear. These circumstances are not in themselves sinful, but they constitute, as it were, the raw material or occasion of sin, and we need divine power for facing them victoriously no less than we need forgiveness for

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actual sinful choices. The release within us of such divine power is an integral part of salvation.

Implicit in human life are other realities, often tragic in their impact, from which we need deliverance. Ignorance, incapacity, fear, frustration, failure, social forces that dwarf personality, physical and mental disease, despair, death—these and related factors involve such evil and suffering that men cry out for release, a rescue which the Christian faith affirms is available and which it includes in the redemption offered through Christ. Jesus came, declares the New Testament, not only to save men from their sins, but to "preach good news to the poor, . . . proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." The redeemed man is one who lives consciously in the love and power of God, and so is more than equal to the tribulations and distress that beset him.

This broad conception of salvation is implicit in all that follows. However, primary attention will be focused on the function of Christ as Savior from sin. Here is to be found the central and most distinctive feature of his redeeming activity, the deepest meaning of his atoning work.

II

It is important to distinguish between the atonement as faith and as theory. Both the New Testament and nineteen centuries of Christian experience bear witness to the saving power which was somehow released through Christ. Through his life, teachings, death, and resurrection those who knew him in the apostolic age came under the influence of One who transformed their lives, leading them from spiritual weakness into strength and from defeat into victory. Through him the forgiving love of God became real and a new life of the Spirit, eternal in quality, began to flow through them. Inevitably they called him Redeemer and Lord and declared, "All this is from God, who was in Christ reconciling the world to himself." 3 Quite naturally this faith became centered in the cross, which they saw not simply as the death of a faultless man utterly loyal to his principles, but as somehow expressing the purpose and character of the eternal God: "While we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son." 4 "He did not spare his own Son, but gave him up for us all." The New Testament writings as a whole are

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Luke 4:18, 19; cf. II Cor. 4:8. All biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version.

⁸ II Cor. 5:18, 19.

⁴ Rom. 5:10; cf. 5:8.

⁵ Rom. 8:32.

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first of all the glowing witness of those who in Christ had found victory over sin and power to become sons of God. The New Testament is primarily not a book of theological doctrine, but a vivid, firsthand account of personal experience, expressing the profound conviction of the first-century church that in and through Jesus Christ, God had acted definitively and uniquely for the salvation of mankind. This faith has been shared by countless multitudes throughout the Christian centuries.

Yet the early Christians did not stop with witnessing to their experience of reconciliation; they also sought to interpret it. However, the agreement noted in their testimony concerning the fact is notably absent in their interpretations. Here diversity rather than unity is characteristic. The New Testament itself contains no systematic theory of the atonement that could come only with the longer perspective of the years-but its writers use a rich variety of metaphors in their effort to fathom the meaning of an event unparalleled in human history. As if aware that no one principle can possibly explain the full significance of a fact so momentous, they unfold a changing panorama of partial figures which are sometimes incapable of harmonization, but which afford priceless insights for all who seek a more comprehensive view. Terms drawn from the slave market, the law court, the sheepfold, the home, and man's experience of death and life, defeat and triumph are freely used. Christ is portrayed as our ransom, as the expiation for our sins, as our "righteousness" or our "peace," as justifier or sanctifier, as the high priest who sacrifices his own blood, as the deliverer of those enslaved by sin.

Amid the richness of New Testament imagery it is still possible, as Albert C. Knudson has shown in *The Doctrine of Redemption*, to discern three main types of thought: (1) the teaching uppermost in Paul, according to which God accepts the vicarious suffering of Christ as a substitute for the punishment of sinners which his justice demands; (2) the priestly conception of the Letter to the Hebrews, in which Christ as our High Priest brings the Jewish sacrificial system to a climax by offering the perfect sacrifice, complete and final in its efficacy; and (3) the Johannine view, mystical and ethical in emphasis, which portrays the death of Jesus as proceeding from and revealing the love of God, who seeks to draw all men into eternal fellowship with himself. None of these concepts, however, is developed into a unified, systematic, coherent theory of the atonement. Paul comes nearest to such a conception, but even his discussions are scattered and interwoven with thought on other themes, and usually they are incidental to his Christian witness. Moreover, each writer

offers subordinate interpretations which not only diverge from his major emphasis, but also contain elements of one or both of the other main lines of thought. The fact is that there is no one view which can be called the New Testament doctrine of the atonement.

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Diversity of interpretation is even more apparent in the theories advanced since apostolic times. Like the New Testament writers, the church has always been committed with near unanimity to the fact of Christ's Saviorhood, but the process of sharpening, clarifying, and developing its thought concerning the "work" of Christ gave rise to disagreements much more deep-seated than the variations already noted. Each view has tended to rally around itself a body of adherents to whom it alone is true. Yet none can claim to be "orthodox" on the ground that it has formed part of the ecumenical Christian faith through the ages. Nor can any one theory rightly pretend to be authoritative for Protestants, since none has won anything approaching universal acceptance among either individuals or communions. Particularly in view of the Protestant insistence on the right of private judgment, this situation is neither surprising nor regrettable, but it does lay on the believer the obligation to bring his best thought to bear on the subject in order to find the most illuminating interpretation possible.

III

Within the limits of this article it is obviously impossible to undertake any adequate survey of even the chief theories which have been advanced. However, a very brief sketch of the main types is necessary as background for the somewhat synthetic view to be proposed. Without injustice to any, it is possible to group the outstanding traditional conceptions under three heads: Greek or ransom; Latin and early Protestant; and moral or experiential.

I. The type of thought which we have called Greek, although it was represented in some of Augustine's discussions as well as by Irenaeus, Origen, Athanasius, and Gregory of Nyssa, made much of the death of Christ as a ransom paid to Satan. As the incarnate Logos, uniting God's immortal with man's mortal nature, he delivered men from corruption and mortality. His death on the cross—which was a crowning act of obedience, a recapitulation in reverse of Adam's fall, and a ransom paid the devil for man's release—was followed by his resurrection, which demonstrated his supremacy over death and sin and destroyed their power. The crudity of this conception, involving as it does the deception of Satan

and the ascription to him of a claim on the human race which even God must respect, renders it quite untenable today. Yet it expresses, however inadequately, the confidence that in Christ God won a decisive victory over the forces of evil, thereby freeing men from the power of sin and the fear of death. Convinced of the basic importance of this truth, Gustav Aulén in his Christus Victor presents the ransom view of Irenaeus as in essence the "classic" theory of the atonement. Whether or not this estimate is sound, the idea of a divine victory over evil must be incorporated in any atonement theory which claims inclusiveness.

2. Medieval Latin and Reformation thought produced a number of theories which, though varying widely, are yet bound together by a common emphasis on the concepts of satisfaction and substitution. For Anselm, Christ as the God-man satisfied in his vicarious death the honor of God which had been offended by human sin, removing the need for punishment and opening the way for forgiveness. Thomas Aquinas, while utilizing the Abelardian emphasis on the love evoked in man by Christ's sacrifice and asserting the efficacy of the sacraments in mediating the divine grace, nevertheless made the Anselmian concept the nucleus of his theory. According to the penal view dominant among the Reformers, typified by Calvin, Christ in his sufferings and death bore the punishment demanded of sinful man by the justice of God, thus allowing the love of God to forgive sin. Viewing God as a moral Ruler interested primarily in the public welfare, Hugo Grotius' governmental theory treats the death of Christ as a penal example demonstrating the stern righteousness of God and the disastrous consequences of sin, and utilizing fear of the divine wrath as a deterrent.

These conceptions fail to recognize any redemptive value in the life of Christ as a whole. They suffer from an abstract, legalistic, mechanical idea of merit, guilt, and punishment, which are integral to personality and not transferable. They tend to make justice or honor rather than love determinative in God; while implicit in them is the supposition, contrary to New Testament teaching, that Christ's death changed the effective attitude of God toward men from wrath to love. They fail to emphasize sufficiently that salvation requires not only divine action, but a trustful, obedient response in the sinner himself. For these reasons they must be

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⁶According to C. H. Dodd, who has carefully studied the background of the term, the substantive hilasterion, translated "propitiation" or "expiation" in Romans 3:25 and I John 2:2; 4:10, means in biblical usage simply a "means by which guilt is removed." When God is the agent, it is a "means by which guilt is forgiven." Only in pagan usage does the word signify the placating of an angry God. (Romans, Moffatt New Testament Commentary. Harper & Brothers, 1932, pp. 54f.)

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rejected as unsatisfactory. However, they contain elements of great permanent significance. They dramatize the depth of human wickedness, which could crucify the Son of God. They make plain the holiness of God, who cannot tolerate sin in those created for fellowship with himself. They correctly sense the costliness of the divine mercy and the lengths to which God is willing to go to redeem sinful men. These are profound and valid insights, and must be conserved.

3. Quite different from the foregoing is the type of theory variously called moral, experiential, or personal. Given classic formulation by Abelard, it gained wide currency in the nineteenth century through the work of Schleiermacher and Ritschl, and is held by many liberal theologians today. On the assumption that the barrier to redemption lies not in God but in men, these views find the central significance of the death of Christ in its supreme revelation of the self-sacrificing love of God, awakening in men repentance, love, and obedience. Christ's life and teachings provide men with their supreme example; contemplation of his cross moves them to want to serve the loving God there disclosed. This line of thought tends to overlook the objective victory of God over evil dramatized in the cross and resurrection, and it lacks the awesome sense, found in other views, of the holy righteousness of God and the enormity of sin. However, it is strong where they are weak, emphasizing the saving significance of the life as well as the death of Christ, and making unmistakably clear the necessity for an inner transformation of the attitude and will of the sinner if redemption is to be complete.

IV

Two highly important conclusions may be drawn from this survey. First, all three of the major types of theory contain valuable truths. Though the traditional formulations as such are often mutually contradictory, the truths they seek to express supplement each other, and perhaps can be woven together according to a harmonious pattern. Secondly, the atonement contains both objective and subjective elements. The first two types emphasize what God did for men in Christ; the third concentrates attention on how men benefit by what God did. The approach now to be developed is an attempt to conserve the elements of permanent

⁷ Space does not permit consideration here of notable recent refinements of several of the substitutionary views. In general, they are open to somewhat similar objections and marked by similar values. Of particular interest to Protestants are the writings of James Denney, J. McLeod Campbell, R. C. Moberly, Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, and Edwin Lewis.

validity in traditional conceptions in a synthesis which utilizes the integral relation of objective and subjective factors as a principle of organization.

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"How shall my fall be amended?" writes the anonymous author of the Theologia Germanica. "I cannot do the work without God, and God may not or will not without me." ⁸ If men are to be saved, God must first act in their behalf. This he does by giving men in Jesus Christ a perfect revelation of the divine character. "The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." ⁹ Uniquely active in the human personality of Jesus was the creative, redemptive power of God himself, disclosing to men his righteousness and love, condemning human sin, and offering his forgiving grace. To this redeeming act of God in Christ, man must respond in contrition and love, accepting in joyous faith God's proffered forgiveness, and in grateful obedience entering the new life of sonship with God. May not the heart of the atonement be found in this conjunction of divine revelation and human response? May not this be essentially how Jesus saves men?

Returning now to the positive values of the traditional theories, we may discover four main ways in which men are redeemed through divine disclosures to which they respond affirmatively.

1. God manifests to men in Jesus Christ the pattern of a perfect life. This is far from sufficient, but it is necessary. If we are not to be gripped with despair, we require not only a design for living but power for following it; a lofty standard may condemn rather than redeem him who falls short of it. On the other hand, if we are to be saved from wrong ways of thought and action, we need guidance as to the kind of life God wants men to live. This we have in Christ. It was not by accident that the Edinburgh Conference of 1937 affirmed: God's "grace is manifested

Edinburgh Conference of 1937 affirmed: God's "grace is manifested.... above all in our redemption through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ," and specifically included in Christ's "redeeming work" "His words and deeds, ... his life and character," as well as "His suffering, death, and resurrection." In the life and teachings of Jesus we see what it means to be completely motivated by love for God and our fellow men, to place spiritual above material values, to follow resolutely the path of devotion to God's will, to find one's life by losing it in loyalty to the Kingdom. Who can read the Gospels sensitively without feeling

challenged to follow him who is there portrayed as Son of God and Son

10 Leonard Hodgson, editor, The Second World Conference on Faith and Order. The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 224, 228.

⁸ Theologia Germanica, translated by Susanna Winkworth. London: Macmillan and Co., 1924, Chap. III, p. 9.
9 John 1:14.

of man? To the degree that we respond positively and give him our allegiance, we are redeemed from pettiness and selfishness to abundant life and the true freedom of service to the Kingdom of God.

The earliest extant Christian hymn, written probably by Clement of Alexandria about A.D. 200, praises the "Shepherd of tender youth, guiding in love and truth." The salvation we seek will be partially realized if we pray earnestly with the author:

Ever be thou our Guide,
Our Shepherd and our Pride,
Our Staff and Song.
Jesus, thou Christ of God,
By thy perennial Word,
Lead us where thou hast trod,
Make our faith strong.

2. God reveals to men in Christ his victorious power over evil. He who in his temptations had triumphed over sin put both sin and death to rout in his cross and resurrection. Crucified by the world's worst men, the world's best Man emerged triumphant. In Good Friday and Easter, God has given an objective demonstration of his supremacy over all that hinders fullness of life. It is this momentous truth which the World Council of Churches expressed when it declared in its message: "In Christ Jesus, His incarnate Word, who lived and died and rose from the dead, God has broken the power of evil once for all, and opened for everyone the gate into freedom and joy in the Holy Spirit." The gate is openedbut men must enter. When they do, the redemption wrought in Christ becomes real in them. Witnessing the triumphant power of God, the weary and heavy-laden may take courage and go on in radiant faith, knowing that light is superior to darkness, love to hate, life to death, and that nothing whatever can separate them from the love of God in Christ Jesus their Lord. Yielding their lives to him in love and trust, they may share his victory.

Such is the experience recorded again and again in the New Testament. "Who will deliver me from this body of death?" cries Paul, answering unhesitatingly, "Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord!" It is this glad sense of deliverance that led some in the early centuries to assert, in the metaphorical language of devotion, that Christ "gave himself as ransom." The same experience has inspired some of our most moving hymns of the passion. Johann C. Schwedler writes gratefully,

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¹¹ Rom. 7:24, 25.

¹² I Tim. 2:6; Mark 10:45.

RELIGION IN LIFE

Who defeats my fiercest foes? Jesus Christ the crucified;

while Charles Wesley sings,

He breaks the power of canceled sin, He sets the prisoner free; His blood can make the foulest clean; His blood availed for me.

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The capacity of Christ to arouse in men such victorious faith in the presence of the evils that assail them is a major aspect of his saving work.

3. In Christ, and particularly in his cross, God reveals in sharp contrast to his own holiness the heinous wickedness of sin. Frequently what sinful men need first is not forgiveness, but a consciousness of their need Like the Pharisees who trusted in "themselves that they were righteous," 18 many are altogether satisfied with themselves and their spiritual condition-an attitude which is psychologically incapable of receiving forgiveness. Such persons—and who of us is not sometimes to be numbered among them?-need to be jarred out of their complacency and pride; they must be shown unmistakably the enormity of their sin against the holy God and the depth of their spiritual need. The cross is God's supreme means of accomplishing this purpose. Human wickedness, he is saying here, is so intense that highly religious men are capable of leaguing themselves with the most cynical and unscrupulous to murder the Son of God himself, who sought only their good. God's perfect righteousness cannot condone such iniquity. Hence man, standing under the divine judgment, is helpless and lost apart from the amazing grace of God, which freely forgives those who truly repent.

The consequence of the death of Christ is thus not the mechanical discharge of a debt or the legalistic payment of a penalty, but a spiritual change in the heart of the sinner; he is awakened to a realization of his own sinfulness, and remorsefully seeks the forgiveness of the God his sin has wronged. Gazing on that "sacred Head now wounded, with grief and shame weighed down," he is moved to that penitent spirit which alone can know the redeeming power of God:

What thou, my Lord, hast suffered Was all for sinners' gain:
Mine, mine was the transgression,
But thine the deadly pain.

¹⁸ Luke 18:9.

Lo, here I fall, my Savior!
'Tis I deserve thy place;
Look on me with thy favor,
Vouchsafe to me thy grace.

4. In the life and death of Christ God manifests to men his suffering, forgiving love. "God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." ¹⁴ If man is to be redeemed from the sin which alienates him from God, something must happen to break his sinful will and substitute for it a positive desire for fellowship with God and obedience to him. Certainly nothing can work this inner change so effectively as a vivid disclosure of the sacrificial love which rules the attitude of God toward men. This God has given us in matchless fashion in the cross of Christ. The God there revealed is One who bears in his own heart the sins of those he loves. Precisely because he loves us, he suffers in our sinning. Sin is costly to God, because he cares so intensely for the sinner. Like Christ weeping over the Jerusalem that flouted his way, the Christlike God endures unspeakable anguish through the disobedience of his own who receive him not. Beyond this, so great is his compassion that like a Good Shepherd he risks and endures all to seek and to save the sheep that is lost.

It is possible to refuse even a love like this. But again and again it has generated in men such shame and penitence as have opened the way to the transformation of their lives. It calls forth in sensitive souls an answering love, and spiritual rebirth becomes a reality. He who contemplates receptively the love and sorrow of the cross of Christ is moved to respond with Isaac Watts:

Love so amazing, so divine, Demands my soul, my life, my all.

So is wrought the at-one-ment in which he who is "our peace" breaks down "the dividing wall of hostility," 15 not only between Jew and Gentile, but between God and man. So are we reconciled to God.

There is no single answer to the question with which we began. Jesus redeems men in at least four discernible ways, which yet converge and lead together to a common destination. On each of them occurs one of the series of divine-human encounters through which men are made new creatures in Christ. The degree of their interrelatedness and underlying unity may be suggested if the revelation-and-response conception of redemption here developed is concisely restated in the following form:

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¹⁴ Rom. 5:8; cf. Gal. 2:20.

¹⁵ Eph. 2:14-16.

God acts in Christ to reveal to men:

- 1. The pattern of a perfect life.
- 2. His victorious power over evil.
- 3. The wickedness of sin in contrast to the holiness of God.

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4. His suffering, forgiving love.

As they respond to God's redemptive activity, men experience:

- 1. Conscientious endeavor to follow Christ.
- 2. Victory over evil through trust in divine power.
- 3. Conviction of sin, repentance, and obedience.
- 4. Self-giving love and devotion to God.

Finally, it is important to remember that the atonement is far more than a particular event or series of events in human history. Truly understood, on the divine side it is an eternal reality. A cross in the innermost nature of God preceded and follows the cross erected between two thieves on Golgotha. The redemptive activity of God in Christ is best viewed, as D. M. Baillie has suggested, as "the point in human history where we find the actual outcropping of the divine Atonement," which calls us individually back to God. The historical atonement occurred because at the heart of the universe, "eternal in the heavens," is One whose deepest nature is invincible, holy, sacrificial Love. Christ saves because he is Mediator of that Love to sinful, finite men.

¹⁶ D. M. Baillie, God Was in Christ. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948, p. 201.

A Parish Minister Examines Secularism

DAVID A. MACLENNAN

A SCOTTISH JOURNALIST tells of receiving this year his first communion as an active member of the Christian Church. To the question of his startled colleagues, "Why?" he answered, "It is perhaps sufficient to say that I did not consider this to be a particularly appropriate time to stand on the touchline and shout advice, far less a time to ignore the entire game. On the whole, I have never much admired people who could not apply the headlines in their daily newspapers to their daily lives, and these appear to me to utter every morning a personal challenge, to anyone who believes in what we are pleased to call 'our way of life.'"

What do the headlines in our daily newspapers tell us concerning our times and the major issues we confront—the financial pages, the sports summaries, the book reviews, the so-called "comics," and all the "stories" telling of contemporary man's aspirations and despairs, his hopes and fears, stupidities and splendors?

As we apply headlines and their deeper meaning to ourselves and to our culture, we encounter the fact of secularism.

What is secularism? It is an ancient, subtle, potent and frequently charming enemy of Christianity. Secularism is the mental climate—and the ideas, attitudes, and activities which flourish in that climate—created by the conviction that life's satisfactions can and should be attained apart from revealed religion. As a commission of my own Church recently declared, "culture is secularized when man attempts to create the forms of his personal and social life without reference to the creative will and purpose of the transcendent God, the Creator." In the phrase used by the author of that sprightly summons to Christian action, Let's Act—Now, it consists of modern man worshiping "at the altars of the god of the surface of things." Secularism is practical materialism without an explicit

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¹ Quoted from the magazine Scotland, May, 1948, p. 10.

² Richard Terrill Baker, Let's Act-Now. Friendship Press, 1948.

At the request of the Foreign Missions Conference, David A. MacLennan, B.D., D.D., Pastor of Timothy Eaton Memorial Church in Toronto, Canada, prepared the following address for the World Missions Assembly held in Columbus, Ohio, October 6-8, 1948. The speaker represented the United Church of Canada at the assembly, which was attended by 2,200 delegates.

philosophy. It is old; from the rise of ancient civilizations to the present it has opposed the spiritual interpretation of life.

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In confronting secularism with the gospel of Christ, we confront a subtle and insidious adversary. For this usurper of God's throne commonly speaks the language of ethically minded Christians. Social justice, higher standards of living, harmonious human relations—all desirable goals of high religion—are its proclaimed objectives. As a discerning English scholar said, the decay of Christianity leads men "to make gods of their abstract nouns." Progress is one such reigning abstraction. Secularism appeals therefore not only to the avowed sensualist, but to the religious man who strives to abolish social evils and who revolts against the refusal of certain churchmen to accept responsibility for the achievement of a more Christian order of society. Secularists may extol the Sermon on the Mount. provided that they can delete its Godward references.

So subtly does secularism exercise its power, that it invades the church with diabolical cleverness and considerable success. How effectively this enemy of vital Christianity operates within the community of Christian believers is evident from the strategy employed among the faithful. In the name of humanitarian service, scientific method, and organizational efficiency, secularism influences denominational and parish officials, religious education, even the sanctum of the preacher and the sanctuary where worship ought to be pure and undefiled. Observing its crude manifestations, we look over the fence at the other major division of Christendom and think that our friends there should name some of their churches after the popular patron saint, St. Bingo! Rough justice might compel us to name some of ours after St. Vitus; so agitated do we become in our various schemes! Indeed, sympathetic critics of institutional religion speak of the secularized church, equating it with the established church of More's Utopia, the ideal state founded on natural religion. For such a church, the postulate of a personal God is irrelevant. It is not so much that multitudes disbelieve in God; they are unable to think of anything that God could do. "We are now at a crisis," say the high priests of this church of secularism, "in which those who continue to talk of God are clogging the wheels of an advance to fuller humanity, and the latter should now be our whole concern. A few more bites out of the apple of the tree of knowledge, and we shall be as gods." 8

Granted, such a blanket indictment of the church in this hemisphere

^{*} United Church of Canada Commission on Culture, report in Agenda of 13th General Council, 1948, p. 87.

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is unfair. North American Protestantism has profoundly influenced for good the political, economic, and social life of our nations. Nevertheless, we Protestants need to take truer measure of the secularizing forces which threaten as well as challenge us. Let judgment on this matter begin at the house of God.

Is it not true for a majority of our fellow citizens, most of whom owe such moral insights and principles as they possess to Christianity, that the only real world is the physical world? That for such persons direct contact with this world can be made only through the physical senses? For how many, even of the elect, is Science not the sole Messiah, with redemption understood as the removal of all bodily discomforts? Paradoxically, the creed of the secularized church is defended by communists and by millionaires alike, and "expounded in university classrooms and in drugstores." Estimate the defection of erstwhile Christian church members to this rival religion and you will reckon that while atheistic communism has slain its hundreds, secularism has slain its hundreds of thousands.

If we wish to appraise the effects of secularism upon the church of Christ in our time, we need only consider the distance which the average church has traveled away from the fact of true community. No sensible person would celebrate uncritically the conditions which obtained in the church the day before yesterday. The good old days were never wholly good, certainly never as good as weary and nostalgic moderns like to think. But before the machine age reached its highest peak of development, and before vast numbers of human beings suffered from rootlessness, particularly in huge cities, the majority of parish churches constituted a true community. In their fellowship, at least in the experiences of common worship, all distinctions of caste and culture, of economic status and social position were transcended. Even in nineteenth-century England with its stultifying class consciousness, the Duke of Wellington could brush aside the deference of a former private soldier who made way for him as both proceeded to the communion rail to partake of the Sacrament, with a valid protest: "No! No! we are all alike here." Industrialization, with its social consequences, other factors of the modern age, have all but destroyed a sense of oneness and equality even when consciously seeking the presence of the Father of all men.

True, in rural areas and in some small urban centers the church may remain a cross-section of local society. For the most part, however, (and I suspect this is increasingly true of Roman Catholic parishes), our western Protestant churches are frequently one-class—middle class—institutions. This fact is often obscured, as Dr. James H. Nichols has pointed out, "by the striking display of conviviality and homeyness in some churches, which is a symptom of the substitution of class and cultural affinities for Christian conceptions and purposes. This is the community of the service club, of the social and business stratum, not of the church." Not even families participate in the worship and service as a unit, justifying the wag who said that most Protestant families must regard the church service as a political convention since they send only one delegate.

If we believe that common worship is "the celebration of realities discovered in common endeavor," is it surprising that it seems irrelevant, "out of this world" in the worst sense of that popular phrase, since we have so little common endeavor to celebrate, to offer to the great God who is the Lord of all life? We may grow misty-eyed and even deeply moved by an experience of worship, feel ourselves summoned to noble action by a prophetic word spoken in the spirit of the Lord; but what profit is it, if from such contemplation of the Eternal God and such insight into his purpose, we return to what we call "the world of practical affairs" to worship what William James called bluntly, "the bitch goddess, Success"? As a shrewd analyst has said, "The Kingdom of God has been eagerly replaced as the organizing focus of our lives in our workaday decisions and dreams by the quasi-Moslem heaven whose description is never a day out of our sight and hearing on radio, movie screen, car cards, billboards, store windows." 5 The tragedy lies in the unawareness of this prevalent idolatry by many within the church, and in the supine resignation of many who do know. The blunt, unpalatable truth is that religion (as one has said) has become a hobby, like folk dancing, but without the exhilaration and muscle-strengthening effects of that pleasant recreation!

Our spiritual quotient might be determined by honest answers given to such simple and searching questions as the following:

Do we as church members give the private and public worship of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ top priority? That a majority would be compelled to give a negative answer is shown by the decline of the religious use of Sunday. "Sunday is now generally observed as a holiday rather than a holy day," said Dr. Cyril Garbett, Archbishop of York. An official of the United Church of Canada, Dr. J. R. Mutchmor, recently declared that for multitudes the picnic basket had supplanted the Sacrament.

5 James H. Nichols, op. cit., p. 189.

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⁴ The Challenge of Our Culture, Vol. I of the Interseminary Series. Harper & Brothers, 1946, p. 187.

Do we concentrate on fulfilling God's design for his human children: One World in Christ—or upon the relative goals of contemporary society: success, maximum sensation, national egoism?

Does prestige and wealth matter more to us than righteousness, brotherhood, and the vision of God?

Do we who profess Christian discipleship support the total program of Christ's kingdom as sacrificially and as consistently as those who are disciplined devotees of the false religions of our time?

Are we demonstrating that we have found both the ethic and the dynamic for joining God himself in making all the kingdoms of all the world the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ?

Upon our response to such questions hangs the destiny of the Christian movement in its conflict with secularism. We must seek and serve the living Christ, that he may reign in every realm of human activity whose right it is to reign; but not because we did eat of the loaves and were filled (cf. John 6:26)!

Thus far we have examined certain broad features of our society and of the church which betray the power and prevalence of secularism. Any attempt to uncover the basic causes of the rise and growth of this enemy of true religion would disclose them to be varied and complex. Hints have been given which remind us that contributing factors include a materialism concerned with improving what is called "the standard of living," the virtues praised by an acquisitive society such as thrift, industriousness, and comfortableness (values which Christianity regards as useful in certain circumstances but decidedly secondary in significance). Other factors which encourage secularism derive from the development of the machine, with the vast increase of public mobility, the quest of economic security, the dislocations of two great wars, the provision of public entertainment on a grand scale, the naive faith in science, sometimes called scientism; and the accelerated intellectual skepticism of the last one hundred years.

What of the Christian challenge to this age-old, resourceful enemy of the faith? Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette in his most recent book, *The Christian Outlook*, frankly states that the challenge of secularism to Christianity is hard to meet. He is convinced that we must (to use his own words) "make Christianity contribute to such this-worldly ends as are clearly demanded by its genius—among them peace, the relief of physical suffering, and the prevention of poverty—but to do so in such a fashion that the eternal goal of the gospel is not only not lost sight of but stressed." ⁶

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⁶ Harper & Brothers, 1948, p. 24.

Can this be done? The answer is that it has been done and is being done by willing conscripts of Christ, here at home and in overseas communities. Wherever, for Jesus' sake and the Kingdom's, a Livingstone heals the open sore of human slavery, wherever a Schweitzer alleviates pain and assists the Spirit in releasing healing energies, wherever a Grenfell provides hospitals and encourages better economic conditions for victims of a hostile environment, wherever a Sam Higginbottom introduces scientific methods of agriculture among primitive farmers, wherever a Laubach opens the doors of learning and skills to the ignorant and untrained, wherever a courageous and resourceful soul or group pours creative good will and understanding into a situation where suspicion and racial prejudice fester, wherever men and women live the life of peace and help others to live it, so that God finds instruments to achieve his purpose of a community of free and responsible citizens of the Kingdom—there Christianity challenges and overcomes the enemy.

Highly impressive to casual Christians is the truth that these demonstrations have taken place and are occurring now through men and women who have taken the world for their parish and who have pledged themselves and dedicated their substance to extend the rule of Christ through the world mission of our faith. Christianity proclaims that this world is enough only if it is redeemed in all its life everywhere on the inhabited earth, by a Power, a Wisdom, and a Love which is from beyond this world of sense and time.

What does this mean for the church in which we serve? First, that we proclaim the gospel, the total fact of our Lord Jesus Christ, without diminution and without apology. Without diminution, because an attenuated gospel, whether from the right or from the left, has proven its inadequacy. Presentation of half-truths is a flight from reality, the total truth; flights from reality end in unhappy landings if not in disastrous crashes. We will proclaim the gospel without apology because the truth needs none. Dr. George MacLeod of the Iona Community was visited by a Clydeside workingman who knew the communist line and was enamored of the gospel of Marx. This man burst out: "You folk have got it; if only you knew that you had it, and if only you knew how to begin to say it." Well, we have got it; and as the lines are being drawn and the issues sharpened, our conviction deepens and our assurance mounts. Please God, we shall master the art of saying it, from pulpit and in classroom, through all the media this marvelous age provides—such as the motion picture and other visual aids, the radio, the recording machine, the printed

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word—and supremely through the compelling witness of transformed personalities and communities. No one else is saying it; no one else can say it, because no one else has the commanding Word to transmit. We must confront our pagan selves and our pagan contemporaries with that truth with which we have been confronted by the great God: that in the total fact of Jesus Christ—his advent, his life, his teachings, his death and resurrection, his continued incarnation in the Church which is his body—the judgment, the redemption, and cosmic purpose of the Eternal Spirit have been revealed and made available for all men everywhere. As we confide ourselves to him, we are judged as individuals and as a society; but much more, we find forgiveness and renewal.

The second element in our Christian strategy in meeting the secularism which threatens and challenges us may be expressed in a phrase familiar to airmen. We must go operational from this base of doctrine and experience in every area of human relationships. Hear the Word of God as it came through his servants at Amsterdam, 1948:

We have to learn afresh together to speak boldly in Christ's name both to those in power and to the people, to oppose terror, cruelty, and race discrimination, to stand by the outcast, the prisoner, and the refugee. We have to make of the church in every place a voice for those who have no voice, and a home where every man will be at home.

(Mark how the following bears directly on our theme.)

We have to say No to every programme and every person that treats man as though he were an irresponsible thing or a means of profit, to the defenders of injustice in the name of order, to those who sow the seeds of war or urge war as inevitable.

To be sure, as Karl Barth reminded the World Council, man, even Christian man, is not "the Atlas who is destined to bear the dome of heaven on his shoulders." We depend upon God, whose care the church is and whose burden is this vagrant, confused, and perverse world. Nevertheless, as all depends upon God, God depends on us. Therefore as Christians we cannot secede from the world even while we reject its secularist mind and programs. We shall love it in God, and claim every province of it for him.

To go "operational" as Christians means that we shall meet the current threat of secularism by advance all along the line. Despite the inroads of the enemy and the perilously thin red line being held by the church around the world, the day is regal for Christ's church. The lost provinces of Christianity—international relations, politics, economics, and the provinces of personal relationships such as the race and the family—can be

recaptured. It is for us to bear the sin of the world in whose life our own is integrally bound up, desiring in love (to use Kierkegaard's words) "to purify it and consecrate it and make everything new within it." That this can be accomplished completely in this world of time no one knows, nor needs to know: do we not follow One who said that it was not for us to know dates and seasons? That it can be accomplished to a greater extent than we have thought possible, as we deploy our forces wisely and employ modern methods, is the conviction of such men as President John Mackay and Bishop Stephen Neill, who framed Section Two of the Amsterdam Report on Man's Disorder and God's Design:

The church "still tries to meet the modern world with a language and a technique that may have been appropriate two hundred years ago. A formidable obstacle to Christian faith is the conviction that it belongs definitely to a historical phase now past.... And yet there is an earnest desire for clearly formulated truth. The minds of millions are more than usually open to the gospel."

To borrow the title of that trenchant little epistle to twentieth-century Christians mentioned above, "Let's Act—Now!" That such action will demand a more heroic, more expendable type of Christian than our churches commonly produce is self-evident. But with God, all things are possible. Given penitent sinners utterly committed to the fulfillment of his design in the present disorder, God can do miracles beyond our imagining. One simple but not trivial illustration is found in the stewardship of our possessions. My own division of Christ's forces on earth, the United Church of Canada, could double its present givings to Christian world service if every member on her rolls would give twenty-five cents weekly for a year! Who could measure the impact upon a secular world of a united Protestant Christendom in which all members gave of their time, their energy, and their money as disciplined members of international political parties give for the propagation of their ideologies?

A second consequence of acceptance and appropriation of the fact of God's self-revelation of himself and of his purpose in Christ is the realization, so vividly impressed upon us by this assembly, that to be a Christian is to be a world Christian. If this is an elementary axiom of the gospel, a majority of our church members are still in the preschool stage! Let those who anxiously desire to do something on behalf of containing militant communism, resisting powerful secularism, realize that here is something effective which they can do: provide reinforcements for the Christian spearhead in every country—now. If the gospel of Christ is true for the

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How easy it is to stand here among congenial comrades of the faith and affirm these foundational convictions; how difficult to work at them and to let them work through us when we encounter the ethical challenges and spiritual obtuseness, emotional prejudices and stubborn inertia of some dear saints! But there is "the great hidden reservoir of Protestant ethical virility and lay leadership" waiting to be co-ordinated and directed. There is the world church, the great new fact of our time. There is the world mission of the church, with its increasingly effective "combined operations" in territory long occupied by various enemies. And above and through all, there is the great God of whose severity and goodness we of this generation have had rich experience.

Concerning secularism we may say as our Master said of the poor of his impoverished nation, we have it always with us. But we need not have it always with us. It cometh out by prayer and fasting: by the prayer which clarifies the issues of our cultural crisis and releases energies for their solution; by the fasting which enables us to forego at least a few creature comforts in order to furnish resources for the world mission of our holy faith.

A layman of the Canadian church returned from Amsterdam tremendously impressed by the many noble personalities present at that historic assembly. He had been depressed, however, by the general attitude and theology of many of our continental brethren whose one hope seemed to be in our Lord's coming to roll up the parchment of history and confound once and for all the enemies of the Kingdom. One shining exception for my friend was Bishop Berggrav of Norway. This man who knew from firsthand experience the power of Christ's foes, knew also the power of God. Summing up this dauntless apostle's message to the world church, my friend reported that it consisted of three simple ringing affirmations of fact: "There is a foe. There is a fight. There is a victory!"

We have a foe—subtle, strong, popular; we have a fight—an engagement hazardous but thrilling. We have a victory: the victory of God which he waits to give. If only we knew that we had it, if only we knew how to impart it, and to act upon it!

Detachment Versus Attachment

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W. NORMAN PITTENGER

IN MUCH OF OUR CURRENT literature there is an increasing emphasis upon what might be called "detachment," as the essential attitude of mind for those who wish to preserve equanimity of spirit in the midst of violent change. And even amongst some Christians there has been a tendency to advocate flight to the mountains or refuge in the catacombs as the strategy indicated by our present situation. It may be worth our while to examine this point of view, in the light of traditional Christian faith and moral theology.

Aldous Huxley in Ends and Means wrote at great length on the need for detachment, and in his novel Time Must Have a Stop he developed the same theme in fictional manner. Mr. Huxley is always interesting, even when his novels creak with an overwhelming load of ideas; but one may wonder how far his notions of religion are congruous with the main Christian position. When he writes in Grev Eminence that it was devotion to the historic and crucified Jesus which ruined the politics of his chief character, one may surely comment that it was not this fact which was the difficulty but a failure to understand the right relationship between temporal possibility and eternal actuality. collection of the mystics, east and west, published recently under the somewhat misleading title, The Perennial Philosophy, Mr. Huxley maintains that the attempt to mix "committed action" with contemplation is bound to lead to disastrous results; hence, he commends to his readers a mysticism which abstracts itself from commitments and seeks to relate the initiate to "pure being." This author may be regarded, therefore, as one who stands entirely on the side of detachment.

A few years ago Arthur Koestler, the novelist and war correspondent, gave us a remarkably stimulating volume entitled *The Yogi and the Commissar*. Mr. Koestler's thesis was that there are two possible directions for human life: one is that taken by the yogi, who stands for mysticism and "detachment"; the other is the way of the commissar, who

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stands for complete dedication to the improvement of this world or for unlimited "attachment." The difficulties of each position are admirably noted by our author, but in the title essay he is compelled to say that for himself he is "inclined" (he does not go much farther than this) to believe that the yogi has chosen the better part, although involvement in political reality is inescapable. His final suggestion is that the right-thinking man will seek a balance between the two directions, but that because of the inevitable selfishness and even sordidness of the political sphere he will have, as it were, a "reserved participation."

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Mr. Koestler's position, it seems to us, is closer to Christian thinking than Huxley's. The view of Gerald Heard, a friend of the latter and a writer who is severely criticized by the former for obscurity and pretentious mystification, is much more plainly on the side of detachment. In a long list of books, most recently in his study entitled Is God Evident? Mr. Heard is insistent on the priority of the mystical element and urges that neglect of this, and of the techniques by which it may be cultivated, is responsible for the decline of man during the past century. In his last book, as in his earlier works like The Code of Christ, The Creed of Christ, Pain Sex and Time, Gerald Heard criticizes a Christianity which immerses itself in the affairs of the world; in his Eternal Gospel he explicitly attempts to dissociate the truth of Christianity from its historical and temporal elements and criticizes the newer theologians, such as Barth and Brunner and their followers, for singling out precisely these elements as the entweder-oder of Christian faith.

With Mr. Heard we may associate Christopher Isherwood, John van Druten, and others who have contributed to a symposium called *Vedanta for the Western World*. The essays in this book are all of a piece in their insistence on mysticism to the point of detachment, while Mr. Isherwood's novel, *Prater Violet*, comes to the same conclusion in the long run. Finally, if one descends to the level of superficial thought but brilliant writing, Somerset Maugham's popular *The Razor's Edge* says exactly the same thing.

In brief, one might remark that a considerable strain in our contemporary literary world, reflecting a strong feeling on the part of the "intellectuals" and unquestionably closely related to a similar sense amongst many of their readers and followers, is intent upon urging that the only solution to life's problems, with their complexity and confusion, is the attitude of detachment from the world. And one might also note

that these people tend to feel that a religion which is to be a workable one for modern man must be of this pattern; they criticize historical Christianity, or seek to reinterpret it, because it has been willing in their

judgment to accept attachment as a possible religious attitude.

Now it is fairly plain that the movement toward detachment is the result of disappointment and even despair over the obvious collapse of this world's hopes and ideals, to which the last generation was so profoundly attached. Attachment quite obviously failed. This has been true of personal experience, always; it has become more clearly observable for many of our age, as secular interests and concerns have failed. In social movements, the search for utopia has led to a terrible frustration; utopia is as far away as ever it was, and the world moves toward destruction and ruin, unless some extraordinary shift occurs to change its direction. And for every man and woman, there is always the fact of an apparent total loss in death, since each of us, as he surveys his own life, whole and entire, knows that he must die and leave behind him whatever it may have been upon which he has set his heart and to which he has given himself in passionate attachment.

When one is disappointed, or when a generation of men meets an apparent total frustration, a violent swing is likely. From complete commitment to this world and its ways, to complete detachment: it is easy enough to see the mechanism for such a change of attitude. only safeguard against violent swings of this kind is reliance upon some wise and settled tradition. Indeed one of the valuable functions of tradition, in every area of human experience, is to check this pendulum tendency in man; absence of tradition, deeply felt and known, is largely responsible for the chaotic shifting of our own age and generation. it is that many of our best and most thoughtful minds have swung over to the extreme position of saying that if we are disappointed in friends and lovers, in social interests and concerns, in our efforts toward the new and brave world of tomorrow, if we do in fact die and lose what the world has to offer, then the only possible way of life is a total negation of the world and the adoption of a detached attitude toward all worldly interests and worldly loves—a mysticism which extricates us from this world into some other, where permanence is to be found.

There is nothing wrong with mysticism, if it is properly controlled and checked. And there is a great deal wrong with the wrong kind of involvement in the world of our present experience, to the point of losing men one if the its of the only lems and plies adeq tend It is

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all proportion and sense of genuine significance. By that latter involvement, one loses even what one esteems, for nothing continues long "in one stay"; we are not safe in our loving or our living or our striving, if they are confined entirely to the world which passes away, with all its desires and all its demands. But the former position, which denies the world, can lead only to negation and to retreat; and this is not only cowardly in the face of real and actual dangers and genuine problems, but leaves the situation worse for ourselves and our contemporaries and for our children. Above all, from the Christian perspective, it implies a denial of the creation in which, despite the imperfection and inadequacy of the material, God is working out a purpose of good. It tends to suggest that history is unreal, or if not unreal is unimportant. It is, indeed, as Huxley and Heard have recognized, an Indian view of life, leading perhaps to amoralism, defeatism, even nihilism; and whatever may be said for these, they are not the qualities which have produced the best and loveliest things in our human experience.

When the Johannine writer tells us that we are "to love not the world, neither the things of the world," we should do well to enquire what he means by "world." What he does not mean is the created order, simply as created order. What he does mean is human society, human affairs, the present order of things, as these are conceived, thought of and oriented apart from God and his presence, power, and purpose. That is a very different matter. In that sense it is perfectly true that we must not love the world nor the things that are in it. On the other hand, there is nothing in Christianity which teaches us that we are not to love the things of the created order, as creatures of God and with the love appropriate to the creatures of God. They are not to have that kind or degree of attachment which belongs to God alone; neither are they to be hated, denied, or disregarded. They are to be reverenced, loved and used, enjoyed and sought for, in their proper or "ordinate" fashion. Hence there is a detachment about our attachment to them—as an old Negro woman is said to have remarked, "I wear this world like a loose garment." That is profoundly Christian, while Emerson's remark that he could "get along" without the world is not Christian but pagan, supercilious, and untrue.

There is something about the new school of detachment which reminds one of the cloud-cuckoo-land in Aristophanes' *The Clouds*.' Situated between heaven and earth, it was not real at all, but represented

an imagined place of retreat for those disappointed about life and not very certain of anything else. And one suspects that the kind of religion to which our detachment school calls us is one that has not so much faith in God as it has a lack of faith in anything else, a lack which masquerades as faith in God. For if one has genuine faith in God, it is likely that one will have enough confidence in God's creation to be willing to get somewhat considerably mixed up in it. And if one is a believer not simply in an abstract God, but in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, one will know that God himself got mixed up in his creation, in the human life of Jesus and in all that prepared for and followed that incarnate action. If this be true, it is impossible for the Christian to run away from the rough, tough, harsh facts, to fly from the world. Rather he must be like Mother Julian of Norwich, who in Shewings of Divine Love tells us that she learned from God that she was to love the world because God loved it. To love the world in God's love and with God's love is to love it safely. For as St. Augustine long ago said in his Confessions, "We only safely love those whom we love in thee; for we can never lose those whom we love in him whom we cannot lose."

In his Journals, Kierkegaard writes that the difficulty in modern "Protestantism, in Lutheranism, and in Denmark" is that in giving up the idea of the strictly "religious life," with its monasteries and convents, its monks and nuns, it tended to make the "good" secular life—that is, the honest, upright businessman, the astute administrator, the clever theologian, etc.—the type for Christianity. It lost, thereby, what he calls "the pinch of salt" which gives its unique tang to Christian living, the sense of the supernatural or the absolute which redeems our relativities from sheer immediacy into some genuine ultimacy. Kierkegaard's remarks are in point here. For it is unquestionably true that we have tended, in our day, to assimilate Christianity entirely to attachment and to lose sight altogether of detachment. This is as true, incidentally, of much contemporary Roman Catholicism as it is of non-Roman communions; we are reliably informed that most Roman Catholic lay-people have no interest in the spiritual life, strictly speaking, while concern for mysticism, for contemplation, and the like, is confined largely to the monastic and conventual houses.

Now there can be no doubt that we owe much to Huxley, Heard, and others who are recalling us to the importance of techniques which will deepen our spiritual life. We need today, more perhaps than anychr be g per which beyon in I

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thing else—and certainly much more than renewed appeals for Christian "action"—a careful working out of a theology of, and a practical guide to, the spiritual life. But this must be based upon authentic Christian faith, with its involvement in the world and in history; it must be grounded in the Incarnation and the Atonement, moving ad divinitatem per humanitatem, as the old writers used to say—through the humanity which God made his own in Christ to the pure Deity which subsists beyond all description; above all, it must take account of modern man, in his modern situation, with his modern problems, and seek to help him, in that given place, to know and love and serve God. In this fashion, that degree of detachment may be secured which will make our necessary human and our loyal Christian attachment a safe and right one.

Toward this end, we must welcome the publication in recent years of new editions of works by the old spiritual masters. The Cloud of Unknowing, William Law's Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life, The Theologia Germanica, Ramon Lull's The Lover and His Beloved, not to speak of the great works like The Ascent of Mount Carmel and others, have lately appeared. This is all to the good. Yet it must be regretted that not so much has been done, outside strictly Catholic circles, to provide popular, readable, and workable manuals of prayer, especially those which take folk where they are and seek to show them the spiritual goal. Perhaps Olive Wyon's School of Prayer and Evelyn Underhill's little books of devotion (The Light of Christ, The School of Charity, for example) are the best that we have, although a few Americans have tried their hand at the task—men like Glenn Clark, E. Stanley Jones, Kirby Page.

In any event, the Christian cannot be content to "let the world go by"; nor should he be willing to lose himself so completely in the world and its affairs that he forgets what he is here for, where he is going, and who he is. Perhaps one might say, indeed, that the balanced Christian disciple is he whose heart is set on God, even while he has learned that the world is here because God made it, loves it, and keeps it.

The practical conclusion is that the Christian must love the created order, in and under God. He must go all out toward it in his concern and in his caring. He must have a relative attachment to it, work hopefully in it, and give his best efforts to making it more like the city of God, to which—and to which alone—his ultimate attachment is due.

The Preacher

RALPH W. SOCKMAN

THE WORD "PREACH" is not a popular term. It savors somewhat of moral smugness. It carries a connotation of condescension, as of a speaker handing down unrequested advice to listeners whom he feels to be in need of his counsel. "Do not preach to me" is an expression often heard as people begin adjusting their defense mechanisms against the invasion of unwanted piety.

If a minister wishes to test the popular attitude toward preaching, let him stand up and say, "I'm not going to preach to you this morning. I just want to talk as man to man." Instantly there is a quickening expectancy of something real. George Eliot, with brutal frankness and undoubtedly jaundiced temper, expressed her low regard for preaching in her day: "Given a man with moderate intellect, a moral standard not higher than the average, some rhetorical affluence, and a great glibness of speech, what is the career in which, without the aid of birth or money, he may most easily attain power and reputation in English society? Where is that Goshen of Mediocrity in which a smattering of science and learning will pass for profound instruction, where platitudes will be accepted as wisdom, bigoted narrowness as holy zeal, unctuous egotism as God-given piety? Let such a man become an evangelical preacher: he will then find it possible to reconcile small ability with great ambition, superficial knowledge with the prestige of erudition, a middling morale with a high reputation for sanctity." 1

Granted that such an appraisal reflects more on the writer than on the preacher, it must be admitted that it mirrors the attitude of many in the so-called intellectual circles and in the upper economic brackets. The pulpit is not drawing too many recruits from those precincts. At the moment I happen to know one son of wealth who is threatened with all sorts of parental warnings because he is considering the ministerial calling.

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¹ Quoted in John Kelman, War and Preaching. Yale University Press, 1919, p. 98.

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And many a theological seminary reveals a preference for teaching as against the preaching ministry.

Although this glimpse of our calling shows that "not many wise after the flesh" are choosing it, nevertheless the apostolic statement still stands, that "it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." And if we have the apostolic stuff in us, the very unpopularity of our work in a worldly sense will serve as a challenge of our utmost for the sake of the highest.

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When we do see our pulpits established on biblical foundations as a part of divine worship, with the purpose of revealing God's will, we begin to understand why the preacher's task transcends and survives other more popular callings which might seem to use the same aptitudes.

The preacher is more than a public speaker. The secular orator may be moved to inspiration and sway his audiences with a gratifying sense of power. But the preacher comes with a revelation plus or even minus an inspiration. A seminary student of my generation after spending Sunday on his charge, confessed that he could get along with this business of preaching pretty well if he did not have to bother with the Bible and the prayers. It is hardly necessary to add that he dropped out of the ministry a few years after his graduation. When the preacher carries the Bible, he finds the Bible carrying him. It keeps fresh the sources of his inspiration when secular topics run dry. True preaching transcends oratory as a spring surpasses a hydrant.

The preacher is more than an actor. Ministers are often told that they should study the stage technique in order to learn how great actors move their audiences. And sometimes a preacher takes it as a great compliment when some admirer tells him, "You would have made a good actor." It is true that we of the pulpit can learn many things from the truly great artists of the stage, for there is much truth in the old saying that good actors speak their lines as if they were true, while preachers so often speak truths as if they were only lines.

But there is a fundamental difference between acting and preaching. The actor seeks to interpret a character or situation. He is shut off from the audience by footlights. The test of his work is how well he

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enters into the personality of the character he is portraying. The preacher, on the other hand, is concerned not only with the interpretation of his message but also with the helping and saving of the people before him. No footlights shut him off from his congregation so that he can be confined to the drama he is enacting. LeGrand Cannon in his book, A Mighty Fortress, makes a seasoned evangelist say to a young preacher fresh from seminary: "Forget about yourself. What you want to do is to think about those people. Then maybe you can make them forget about themselves. That's what they've come for. When you can give it to 'em, you'll be a preacher."

A good actor lives his part. A good preacher lives both in his part and in his people. A good actor with a good play as a vehicle can keep running on Broadway for perhaps two or three seasons. But a preacher possessed of far less ability, by putting himself into the drama of salvation and the hearts of his people, can keep running in the same pulpit for decades.

The Christian preacher is a practitioner in the tradition of the Great Physician. And yet he is more than a physician, just as Jesus was more than a healer. Nothing in the minister's work is more worth while than to give the healing touch and guiding word to the distraught individuals who come to him for counsel. In such concrete helpfulness, the pastor finds the contacts which sustain his sense of reality and practical usefulness. Yet the good doctor today does not limit himself to private practice, serving only those who ring his doorbell. He extends his service through clinics, through interest in public health and preventive medicine. Likewise the minister, though a physician of the spirit, must watch the proportion of time given to private practice in counseling and to public service through preaching and activity in public causes. Ministry to the abnormal must not overshadow ministry to the normal. Wisdom must be used lest so much time be consumed by those who come to the pastor's study that he has too little time for the service of those who must be sought out. Christ's ministers are called to challenge as well as to comfort. The consultation room is the supplement to, but not the substitute for, the pulpit. The preacher must be prophet as well as physician.

Furthermore, the preacher must be more than the prophet. It would be hard to say what difference would have been made in the messages of the great Hebrew prophets if they had been the pastors of settled congregations. Their clarion voices might have been muted by a pastoral consciousness. Sometimes it happens that our shepherding care in temper-

ing the wind to the shorn lambs also is tempted to adjust the heat to the fur coats. Nevertheless, the preacher of today has the task of preaching the will of God and also of preparing the people to hear it.

In the fortieth chapter of Isaiah the command is given, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord." In the sixty-second chapter, the injunction is "Prepare ye the way of the people." Put the two commands toegther, and you have the double duty of the preacher. He is the guide in a twofold search. On the one side is God, longing for his wandering children, seeking to reconcile them unto himself. On the other side are men feverishly searching for the secret of wholeness, and restless till their souls find rest in God. As guide in this twofold search, the preacher is prophet interpreting the voice of God to men, and also priest introducing men to God.

If the preacher is to fulfill his high calling—an office more demanding, even if less popular, than other professions—he must, as Fénelon said, be able to prove, picture, and move.

The public demands proof of the man who essays to speak in God's name. When King Zedekiah shut Jeremiah in prison he asked the prophet, "Wherefore dost thou prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord?" generation is still more skeptical. So many persons have claimed divine guidance for such stupid and devilish things. Furthermore, can the preacher presume to say that he receives a message from God each week? It is this weekly deliverance of a divine message which the late Heywood Broun said was so absurd on the part of the man in the pulpit. Mr. Broun once wrote that he might go to church if the ministers would be honest enough to keep silent when they had no divine inspiration, if, for example, they would be frank enough to get up on some Sunday mornings and say, "Perhaps next Sunday, but not today."

There is, of course, a point to Mr. Broun's twitting criticism. It does seem presumptuous for us as ministers to claim divine inspiration every time we stand up to preach. As a single individual, the preacher is inspired of God only as is any other conscientious person. Whenever any thoroughly conscientious person heeds his own best conscience, he is hearing God calling. Yet he may not get the divine message straight, and may therefore say and do foolish things under the guise of God's will. Hence if the preacher depends only on his own inspiration, he would not be a very reliable spokesman of God.

But the preacher should not claim divine authority solely through his individual inspiration. He is a minister of the gospel. He is the

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bearer of a Book. When he opens the Bible, he turns on voices other than his own, voices which haunt us and the ages before us with a heavenly appeal. Through the opened Bible we hear the psalmists whose noble songs make us feel that they were thinking God's thoughts after him. We hear prophets who uttered truths so far ahead of their time that they cannot be explained as echoes of the crowd, but must have been inspired of God. And above all we hear the words of a Galilean who spoke as one having authority, and then lived out the truths that he voiced in such matchless fashion that like the soldier at the cross we, too, say, "Surely this was the Son of God." Ah, yes, the preacher may not always be personally inspired, but he is the interpreter of a Book which has convinced the ages that it contains the Word of God, because it continues to find men as it did Coleridge, at the deepest points of experience.

Moreover, the preacher is the minister of the church as well as of the gospel. The sermon is delivered from the sounding board of a church which is the Body of Christ and has embodied the time-tested experience of God's servants. The minister who voices the teachings of the church is opening a door into the corridor of the centuries. Through that corridor of time we can hear the echoes of those who traveled where the saints have trod. The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God who comforted the persecuted Christians in the catacombs, who led St. Francis of Assisi forth to serve the loathed lepers, who sustained Joan of Arc at the stake, who fired the conscience of John Calvin, and warmed the heart of John Wesley—that same living God keeps calling through his church; and though the preacher may be a most imperfect interpreter, his efforts at least let us know that God is calling.

When a ship is in distress, the radio operator is a most important personage. His instrument may be badly out of condition, the messages he receives may not be coming through clearly; but even his imperfect, garbled reports are a mighty comfort, for they let the passengers know that there is a station off yonder in the distance which has the ship's range. Similarly, the man in the pulpit may be no more inspired than the radio operator on the distressed ship, and his words may be most imperfect translations of the divine message; but at least when we hear him as the spokesman of the Bible and the church, we know that God has our range and is trying to get a message across to us.

G. A. Johnston Ross was wont to tell his seminary classes that the primary test of preaching is whether it makes the presence of God felt. And this test can be met by the sincere preacher who sees his pulpit work

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as an integral part of worship and supplements his individuality with the resources of both Bible and church.

The preacher, however, cannot rest content with the creation of a vague, general sense of God's presence. In the now famous Fortune editorial of January, 1940, appeared this summons to the pulpit: "There is only one way out of the spiral (of confusion). The way out is the sound of a voice, not our voice, but a voice coming from something not ourselves, in the existence of which we cannot disbelieve. It is the earthly task of the pastors to hear this voice, to cause us to hear it, and to tell us what it says."

The preacher must give proof of his divine calling not only by showing that he has God's range but also by translating the divine directions. Here, too, he must be safeguarded from his own individualism. For this corrective way we suggest that contemporary preaching needs more expository doctrinal sermons.

Modern expository preaching need not copy the methods of our grandfathers. Time has become too precious for those who sit in our pews to sit patiently while the preacher explores the Hebrew and Greek roots of his text. Nor can a congregation be held by the teaching methods of a classroom. The preacher must catch his people's interest at the points where they are living. But while he may start his sermon at the sidewalk level, he should lead his congregation back into the uplands of the soul, where flow the springs of living water; and these are found so variously and invariably in the Bible. Knowing that the Bible is not widely read among the laity, preachers tend to avoid it, assuming that it will prove too dull for their listeners. Thus biblical preaching grows less and less, and the result is tragic. The American pulpit certainly has the genius to develop a vital type of expository preaching, and unless it does, its messages will become sicklied o'er with the pale cast of opportunism.

And along with biblical exposition should go a deeper study of doctrinal preaching. European churchmen may not be justified in their criticism of the American pulpit for its fuzzy "goodwillism" and meagerness of mental content. We can counter by pointing to our larger congregations and more active parish programs. Nevertheless, we have to admit that in their eagerness for crowds many churches have resorted to Rotarian friendliness and success-psychology sermonettes. Our doubting and disillusioned generation needs faith. Our churchmen need a reason for the faith that is in them. Our Protestants need a clearer conception of the

great convictions which brought Protestantism into being and which can preserve our free society. All this calls for the preaching of historic doctrines, not as dry traditions but as life-giving currents of spiritual power.

The religious life is a quest as well as a conquest. A groping and confused generation is looking for the reliable road maps of life. These the church must give, and only a teaching pulpit can lead a teaching church.

Let us go on. The preacher must picture as well as prove. If that was true in Fénelon's day, it seems doubly imperative now. Colorless abstractions cannot hold the contemporary mind, inured to the flashing scenario and television. A C. S. Lewis writes for the hundreds of thousands and broadcasts to the millions because, as it is said, he lifts God out of the "category of gaseous abstraction."

The true preacher is an artist painting pictures in the mind. "He is the best speaker who can turn an ear into an eye." Jesus possessed that genius in supreme degree. "The words that I speak unto you," he said, "they are spirit and they are life." Our Lord did not lull people to sleep by using vague, general terms like "humanity" and "society" and "service." He spoke in sparkling parables, leaving unforgettable portraits of a prodigal boy picking himself up from among the swineherds of a sinful country and of a good Samaritan lifting a wounded man on the Jericho road. The Master Teacher was a master artist, and his masterpieces remain models for the preacher in combining depth of thought with simplicity and beauty of utterance.

In cultivating the art of making truth sufficiently picturesque to impress the modern mind, the preacher should study the use of illustrations. There should be enough to illumine, not too many or too long to distract. Even more useful and artistic than illustrations are colorful words. A single word can flash a picture which makes a whole sentence or paragraph alive.

Imagination is more powerful than the will, so psychologists tell us. When the two are in conflict, the imagination wins. It is the picture which hangs in our mind rather than the purpose on which we grit our teeth that will eventually shape our action. If this be true, then the preacher's appeal to the imagination is more effective than his exhortation of the will.

And if our broken and divided world is to be made brotherly, it would seem to need imagination even more than information. Mere in-

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crease of factual data about other races and nations does not guarantee better understanding. Only as we sensitize our imagination by cultivating the art of putting ourselves in other people's places do we come to feel how life would look to those of different color, creed, and culture. The preacher must develop the power to picturize the gospel of God's love and the personalities of God's children whom we are to love.

There is great advocacy today of religious drama as the best vehicle for conveying spiritual truth to the popular mind. The success of the radio program, "The Greatest Story Ever Told," attests the public appeal of our gospel when put in dramatic form. In the same trend is the recently inaugurated radio program of the Protestant Episcopal Church which avoids all preaching, Scripture, and prayer, and presents scenes from great dramas. Is the pulpit to surrender its function to the drama and the novel, thus admitting failure to make its message interesting?

We refuse to believe that preaching cannot be made vivid enough to hold even the movie-trained mind of today. The life-and-death gospel of the Christian faith is the greatest story ever told; and truth in the hands of an artistic interpreter is more interesting than fiction.

The preacher must prove and picture. Yes, and also move. "Study without action is futile. Action without study is fatal." John Mackay expresses the truth: "There can be no true knowledge of ultimate things, that is to say of God and man, of duty and destiny, that is not born in a concern and perfected in a commitment." 2

The preacher is a transmitter of spiritual power, but only when he is linked both to God and to his fellow man. A moving sermon must do more than stir the emotions. It must so channel them that they turn the water wheel of the will and generate power for living.

After James Russell Lowell heard Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard in 1867, he wrote: "Emerson's oration began nowhere and ended everywhere, and yet as always with that divine man, it left you feeling that something beautiful had passed that way—something more beautiful than anything else, like the rising and setting of the stars." Emerson was certainly not an emotionalist, yet he moved the emotions of Lowell. A shallow churning of the emotions produces only froth, foam, or muddy sediment, but profound sincerity, noble sentiments, picturesque presentation can stir natures with feelings too deep for words.

Anatole France declares that men do not have to be great in order

² John Mackay, A Preface to Christian Theology. The Macmillan Company, 1941, p. 45.

to arrest the world, "if they have loved something or believed something, or hoped for something, and if they have left a part of themselves at the end of their pens." A sermon will convey life to its hearers in proportion to the amount of life the preacher has put into it. For this reason a man's preaching should become more powerful as his ministry progresses. His mounting capital of experience should produce more interest in his sermons, provided he is ever interesting his life in others; for, be it remembered, we are interesting to others in so far as we are interested in others.

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If contemporary preaching is to be possessed of moving power, it must not copy the superficial methods of certain flamboyant evangelists but seek the deep, central themes of our Christian faith. Evelyn Underhill's criticism should cause us to resurvey the area of our pulpit message. She remarked that the great defect of present-day religion is that it spends its time running around the arc and takes the center for granted. The best preachers plan their seasons with an eye to great objectives. Let us be alert to see that we deal with the weightier matters of the law and the true priorities of the gospel.

Amid the increasing complexity of parish life we might find help in keeping our preaching priorities by considering the hierarchy of loyalties which Principal P. T. Forsyth kept as a guide in his ministry. He listed his loyalties in the following order: (1) to the gospel, (2) to his local church, (3) to the great church, (4) to the public. Whether or not we agree with his arrangement, we cannot accept his principle, for more important than the organization of sermons is the master plan of one's preaching ministry.

Preaching is discourse developed from divine revelation and designed to move men through and toward the divine will. In this high and holy calling we are compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses who themselves have run the course and shown us the way. But only by looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, can we carry others with us.

Latin-American Variations on the Protestant Theme

ALBERTO REMBAO

I

THE PROTESTANT MOTIVE is inescapable in any survey of contemporary religion south of the Rio Grande. The intercultural processes of the twentieth century cannot exclude the Anglo-Saxon missionary impacts of the nineteenth. Today Protestantism as a religious form is an established fact in every one of the twenty-odd countries loosely known as "Latin America." But Protestantism is more than a religious form, it is a cultural spirit; and the latter conditions the former. Protestantism is the modern tint of the Christian gospel. It is its Anglo-Saxon vehicle, just as the Mediterranean Christianity of the times of Constantine was the Hellenistic instrument of that gospel, or just as obsolescent Latin was the vessel of our syllogistic twelfth century. The point is that when the religious phenomenon is a truly eternal ingredient, it always has a cultural counterpart; the religion and its concomitant culture go together, like the skin and the wine of old. Now, it is a matter of record that as a rule Protestant Christianity has flourished to give fruits of political freedom-that sum and total of working principles known as democracy. The significant fact in twentieth-century Latin America is that both the religion and the spirit of Protestantism have taken root in a soil which by tradition and culture is supposed to be "Latin," Mediterranean, and as such inimical or at least adverse to the essence and the vessel of modern Christianity.

It has been customary to impugn the presence of Protestantism in Mediterranean Latin America as a forerunner of an alien culture; but the historical record seems to recite a different tale. It appears that cultural Protestantism emerges there before its religious equivalent. For instance, the capture of Havana by the English in 1768 accounts apparently for the founding of Masonry in Spanish lands. Again, the whole system of constitutional government in Latin America after its

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liberation from Spain is definitely imprinted by the Anglo-Saxon law, so much so that Spanish-American constitutional statutes read like paraphrases of the Philadelphia instrument of 1787, which is a definitely Protestant form. This fact, by itself, proclaims the utter failure of the Spanish Empire as a lawgiver. After three hundred years of Spanish nurture, the colonies become nations had to look outside for government forms, since none had been developed within. The main cause of this institutional failure is summarized in a sentence: "The Spaniards could not bequeath to their colonies that which they did not have at home—i.e., freedom." 1

The same thing could be affirmed of culture in general. Free Spanish America went French during the whole first century of its independent life. "Having discarded the Spanish cassock, we found ourselves naked; having no indigenous cassock at hand, we must put the French one on, which incidentally was very good under the circumstances." That is to say that Protestantism appears in the Hispanic world, again, in the fullness of the times, when the climate and the atmospheric pressure, so to speak, have become ready for the coming of life. That is, when the Republican governments, having repudiated the established religion (due to the fact that the established Church sided almost always with the vanquished in the series of internecine wars that followed the emancipation from Spain), welcomed the presence and efforts of Protestant missionaries, as was the case in Mexico under President Juárez.

II

But whether or not the religious form came after its cultural spirit had taken root in Latin America, the visible fact today is that Protestantism as a religion has become a national although minority religion in almost every Latin-American country. As a matter of fact, its growth has been spectacular and well out of proportion to the effort exerted by the foreign missionaries. In three-quarters of a century—the span of three generations—there has sprouted a Protestant community of nearly three million native members. But the influence of that community reaches far out beyond the weight of its volume. At present, the word "Protestant" on the lips of non-Protestants is not a stigma as of old, but, much to the contrary, a token of worth.

Take for instance Puerto Rico, one of the countries where the Protes-

¹ Eladio Velásquez, "Democracia hispanoamericana." La Nueva Democracia, New York, Sept., 1944,

² Alberto zum Felde, El problema de la cultura americana. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1943, p. 168.

tant gospel arrived late, fifty years ago. The eminent Spanish scholar Luis A. Santullano avers in his book Mirada al Caribe that "it has been in the realm of religion that the United States has rendered Puerto Rico its best and major service." Dr. Santullano is talking about the spirit of Iberian intolerance planted in the Island by the Spanish regime, and concludes that the American influence has translated itself there into an ample religious horizon. He adds, "Perhaps it was this amplitude that led the Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos to say years ago, in his book Indología, after a short stay in Puerto Rico: 'I like to think of what a great force for the defence of our culture in America it would be, if we had (in the rest of Latin America) a Catholicism such as that in Puerto Rico appears to be—virtuous and free' Well, whatever may be the difference, especially in social outreach, between Puerto Rican Catholicism and that of other regions, it must be attributed to the healthy influence of Protestant action. . . ." 3

It should be noted that Dr. Vasconcelos has been at times one of the most trenchant critics of Protestantism both as a religion and as a culture. His testimony, therefore, is worthy of note. But of late it has become a commonplace; his voice is only one among a choir of many; the non-Protestant consensus is one of praise, when it comes to appraising the social worth of Protestant action. Why is it that the Cuban government awarded its highest decoration, the Order of Carlos M. de Céspedes, almost simultaneously to three Protestant educators, a Baptist, a Presbyterian and a Methodist? Brazil has decorated at least two Protestant missionaries: the president of a college and the agent of the American Bible Society. Chile likewise honored the Presbyterian head of a unique maternity project and the Methodist principal of a college for girls. However, this recognition refers to the activities of American missionaries. The paragraphs that follow have to do with the indigenous, native-born, thirdgeneration Protestant community in many typical localities which will be chosen at random.

We shall start with Cuba, since the writer has just returned from a month's end trip to the "Pearl of the Antilles." In Matanzas there is a new development, the recently established Union Theological Seminary, with the backing of Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. There was a Summer Institute with 130 ministers and lay workers, male and female, attending from all over the Island. There were evening meetings at the Irene Toland Institute at the top of a hill, in the midst of tropical heat,

³ Luis Santullano, Mirada al Caribe. Jornadas, Colegio de México, México, D. F.

with crowds of seven hundred and more, and the provincial band collaborating. Have you ever opened an evangelistic campaign with the municipal band playing light opera, like the "Dance of the Hours" from Ponchielli's Gioconda or the "Triumphal March" from Verdi's Aida? If not, you have missed something. You do not know what a thrill it is for the preacher in charge to have the whole band stay and listen, and to have the leader tell him afterwards that he will come tomorrow "in civilian garb, voluntarily, not in my official capacity as of today." The next day, the 130 workers cut classes and broke up in sixty-five pairs to canvass the whole provincial metropolis, to distribute thousands of pamphlets, to preach on the public squares and the market places, to obey the pristine injunction: "Go ye and evangelize"

Certainly Cuba is burning with the gospel zeal, today as two years ago, when the Latin-American continental youth congress met in Havana and the local believers filled the 7,000-seat municipal open-air Greek Theater in such numbers that there was not a seat left for the non-Protestant public. Protestant Cuba is notable for the quality of its college youth. Last August, in the midst of the cannicula, the University was closed and many of the young people were back in their home towns. But there were sufficient Habaneros to hold a round table at First Presbyterian; and there they were, full of questions and with the light of militant eagerness in their eyes, the future physicians and lawyers and engineers and pedagogues of Christian Cuba. Every year all Protestant graduates from the different faculties of the University hold a special service at one of the Evangelical temples. The purpose is "to dedicate their degrees to God," and a University professor comes to the Protestant church to deliver an address. And the invitation is considered an honor by the heads of departments. Take for instance the testimony of the head of the Law School, an avowed atheist: "It was the deepest experience of my life to see myself, a nonbeliever, talking about the things of the spirit from the pulpit of a Baptist temple." The writer saw these young people in Christian action, in many an activity. A young chap in his very early twenties and on his third year of law-Gómez Gil-was in charge of First Presbyterian while the pastor was away. The influence of these Protestant intelligentsia reaches beyond the ecclesiastical field and out into the social life of the community. The leading Cuban daily El Mundo, Catholic-owned and Catholic-pressured, publishes now an "Evangelical Notes" column written ad hoc by a young Raul Fernandez, Presbyterian pastor at Encrucijada. Incidentally, the daily press has opened its columns to the Protestant message in a more

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po th th direct way in Santiago de Chile also, where Methodist pastor Petrus Zóttele publishes weekly columns in La Nación and El Mercurio under the caption "Culto Evangélico."

Journalism aside, there are many manifestations in other fields which demonstrate the ebullient potency of the gospel: a religion that works because it is at work. One must leave the Caribbean area, but not before mentioning the Dominican Republic and the magnificent work of the United Church under the Board for Christian Work in Santo Domingo. Its book shop at the capital city, Libreria Dominicana, has become the very center of lay culture, since it is the rendezvous of all the Island's intelligentsia and national agency for the American Bible Society as well. The book shop, so I hear, is a lucrative proposition, so much so that the general church work receives financial help from the literary earnings of a redoubtable Dominican bookseller by the name of Julio Postigo.

Take any other Latin-American country you wish, and you will find there the same phenomenon: the gospel growing and expanding in such a way that the workers and their leaders tremble, for there are not enough pastors and teachers to indoctrinate the converts. In those lands folks are converting themselves, so to speak, without the intervention of evangelists. During the recent persecution in Mexico, a certain pastor was called upon to come and help some brethren who had been thrown in jail in a certain village where there had never been any preaching. Those folks had known the gospel through Bible reading and the quiet effort of some anonymous colporteur.

III

Perhaps one might think it only natural that the Protestant gospel—that is, the Bible gospel—should have taken hold among the poor, as has always been the case. But the gospel is entrenched not only among the humble, but also among the rich. Within the Protestant community, which began most definitely among the poor, in the course of three generations the gospel has flowered also into economic wellbeing. Perhaps the readers of this Journal have heard of that famous Presbyterian layman from Mexico City, Brother Fernando Rodríguez, who has been blessed by his Lord in a business way; for he owns the largest furniture store in the country, or at any rate one of the largest. During one of the customary periods of persecution, the church authorities declared a boycott against the Rodríguez Mueblería Nueva arguing that Mr. Rodríguez was financing the entire Protestant enterprise in the whole of Mexico. However, during

those days the observer could see pairs of Catholic nuns entering into the forbidden premises and buying there "because the goods are cheaper and better."

At the other extreme, in rural Uruguay, among the frugal Waldensians you might begin asking questions, after meeting, in Tarariras, where Silvio Long is pastor. You would be conversing with Brother Felipe Lanús, important member of the neighboring congregation. He is a well-to-do farmer. The Waldensians contribute to church work, per capita, \$2.50 per year, but of course families are large, and so are the congregations. Recently their effort has centered in helping their mother churches (now become daughters) in the Italian valleys devastated by the war. It was in their neighborhoods that the Black Shirts of Mussolini made their last stand. But now Don Felipe is president of the committee appointed to create a farm credit bank for Waldensians. Of course the bank will be for everybody, but the communities are one hundred per cent Waldensian. Unfortunately, it seems the "colonies" are already feeling the impact of "civilization" from the movie theaters and dance halls in the near-by towns which are not Waldensian.

The agrarian way of life in a Protestant community, however, is not confined to Waldensian Uruguay. There is in Mexico a certain Protestant variety which here in the United States would be classified in terms of theology as Pentecostal. The Colonia Portales Church in Mexico City runs a foodstuffs co-operative with all the shares held by church members, but people from sister churches may buy stock also. This co-operative movement has branched into a business venture for the exploitation of tropical products, coconuts and such. The firm is legally incorporated. All the shareholders are church members. One-fourth of all profits are dedicated to evangelism. The co-operative has farm holdings in Oaxaca, Veracruz, and Chihuahua. At present the interest is in coconuts and fishing. The head of the corporation is an army general, who incidentally is very active also in another project: the radio station recently acquired by Maranatha, Mexico City's interdenominational men's club.

But before there were millionaires, the intellectuals had already appeared. It is a fact easy to verify that every large Protestant city congregation has in its midst a good quota of professionals, who teach Sunday school, preside over the young people's society, and preach a sermon without further ado when called upon to do so: lawyers, physicians, engineers, doctors of philosophy, pharmacists, government employees, nurses, and schoolteachers galore. Between 1920 and 1930 federal and

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state governments of Mexico absorbed hundreds upon hundreds of Protestant normal school teachers for the new system of lower education, which in those years made tremendous strides toward the betterment of the poor people—especially in the rural regions, where up to date the government has been able to open at least a thousand new schools every year.

As for the rural education movement in Mexico, which has revolutionized Mexican life in so far as it has integrated the Indian population into the common nationality, the kernel of the matter is that the movement and its spirit can be traced directly to the Protestant spirit and indirectly to the Protestant community. It was a graduate of the Presbyterian Coyoacán High School, layman Moisés Sáenz-graduate also of Columbia University and the Paris Sorbonne—who gave rural education its motive, its philosophy, and its program. Incidentally, Dr. Sáenz is another example of a Latin-American Protestant reaching the highest positions in public life. He wrote extensively on the Indians and their problems, in Mexico, Ecuador, and Peru. He died in Lima while in charge of his country's embassy there. Even his death became exemplary. He died under the loving care of a Protestant pastor (G. Montaño), leaving definite instructions that his burial should be according to the Evangelical rite and not according to the diplomatic protocol which calls for a ceremony at the Roman Catholic Cathedral. Dr. Sáenz is the first foreign diplomat who has not been buried in Lima according to the customary diplomatic ritual. IV

The presence of a native third-generation Protestant community in Latin-American lands does not preclude the very welcome help and the most necessary activity of missionaries from abroad, because there is still a frontier to be conquered for Christ and because the very growth of the local communities creates new problems and open further opportunities in a cubic power ratio. Missionary enterprises have been activated recently. The common denominator projects of the thirty-odd Foreign Missions Boards having work in Latin America are being co-ordinated everywhere. National Christian Councils, constituted by self-governing churches, function regularly at present in ten countries: Brazil, Mexico, the River Plate (Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay), Chile, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Peru, and Guatemala. The continental program for Christian literature under the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America is most active, with its two main publishing houses at Buenos Aires and Mexico City respectively.

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The campaign against illiteracy has been waged vigorously in several countries; the catalytic impact of the Laubach method has moved the governments of Mexico, Ecuador, Cuba, and others to open national drives against illiteracy; Mexico reports that more than one million adult illiterates have learned to read during the drive. The field of radio has been promoted with the appointment of a general secretary for Latin America, for the development of radio stations at several strategic points, besides implementing the existing ones, like the famous "Voice of the Andes" at Quito, Ecuador. The Indian problem—including the millions of Latin Americans who speak autochthonous languages and dialects-has been approached for the first time in the light of the scientific method. United Andean Indian Mission has been founded with the specific purpose of reaching the nonintegrated inhabitants of the Andean plateaus. Also one could mention the many independent or special projects of individual Foreign Boards, like the School of Philology maintained by the Presbyterians at Medellin, Colombia, the several summer work programs of the American Friends' Service Committee in Mexico.

The United Andean Indian Mission was established some three years ago, but it is already a going concern, with a church, clinic, school, and experimental agricultural station at Picalquí, sixty miles to the north of Quito, on the top of the Andean world. The project is under Paul Streich and Oliver Mabee, who are well versed in anthropology, both physical and metaphysical. Some university or seminary student looking for an academic theme might well write on this experiment as a road to the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. The Andean Indian missionaries are experts in anthropology and know by heart such scientific shibboleths as "the substitution theory," which they employ well and to the glory of God. The substitution theory means, in a word, to put a new essence into an old vessel.

For example, the staff at Picalquí learned that the big festivity of the year in that region was the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, which is one of the many Western equivalents of the classic Bacchanalia of the ancient Romans. Since the grape does not abound in Ecuador, the ceremonial stupefier is prepared with mashed corn and allowed to ferment until it becomes chicha, a very powerful intoxicant. According to custom the inebriation should be complete in order to immerse the community in the spirit of the thing. The aftermath of the celebration is left to the imagination of any and all lovers of anthropology and its germane disciplines.

Well, the missionaries decided to comply with the local mores and

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to hold the Peter and Paul celebration. In order to avoid the snares of John Barleycorn, they prepared a W.C.T.U. beverage with orange juice and citric acid as a base, and papaya nectar for sweet. Large ceramic containers were made ready and the liquid was dispensed by the gallon until all the merrymakers said no more. They liked it, for it tasted different, and it lacked the sting of the customary chicha; and, most wondrous, the next day the citizenry awoke, all of them sane and sound, perfectly alive, without the head-piercing hangover of their previous experience. The whole region is wondering even today about the virtues and the mysterious recipe of this chicha evangélica—the Evangelical hootch that leaves no hangover and yet brings one into the communal fellowship which is necessary to pay due honor to St. Peter and St. Paul.

This work in Ecuador is at 10,000 feet above sea level. Quakers of the American Friends' Service Committee prefer the malariainfested jungles of tropical Mexico in the state of Veracruz. Spirit of the Lord spoke quietly into the ear of a certain Philadelphian, a mighty man and very learned in the problems of a just and durable peace. Ray Newton was obedient unto the Voice; he did a lot of silent thinking about it, then he talked it over with his friends, Quaker and otherwise, he traveled and raised money, and fired other leaders with his enthusiasm, until one summer the thing happened; the first group of United States college students under the leadership of the American Friends' Service Committee crossed the border into Mexico. Then the second group came, and the third, and many another during the last few years. Professor Luciano Hernández, Director General of Federal Education for the state of Mexico, told this writer: "The group of American girls that the Friends' Service Committee sent us last summer did a marvelous piece of solid humanitarian work. The girls who came to give us a hand (at teaching) in the villages have left a permanent imprint on the souls of the people. There was sadness and emotion on the day of their departure. We are hoping that another group will come soon." Said another Mexican, "These 'Friends of Peace' have opened our eyes to the fact that there is in the United States another type of gringo, different from the exploiter and the arrogant intruder of the well-known stereotype. we know young Americans that come to work for the villagers. In Ecatepec and Telalam, those young folks have built privies and other hygienic contrivances with their own hands, for free, for the health of the community, which means that we have learned new techniques of the good life, without filth and disease."

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In Veracruz the Quaker project took a different line—the draining of a swamp, in order to eliminate mosquitoes and malaria. One sunny day the inhabitants of Tetela saw a group of some fifteen or twenty americanos stripped to the waist, wading in the malodorous mud of the swamp, digging with all their might. Among them there was one who on final analysis proved to be a Mexican in disguise, a redheaded Mexican whose additional duty, besides digging, was to interpret and translate. (Come winter, one saw the redhead in San Francisco, interpreting again, at the founding of the United Nations: Heberto M. Sein, son of a equally worthy father, Don Eucario, the first Interdenominational Sunday School Secretary in Mexico, 1906.) The spectacle was rather unique, because never before had the denizens of a Mexican swamp seen an americano toiling so, or toiling at all. The previous experience had been to see Americans supervising the works, shouting orders, roaring commands. Several interpretations of the phenomenon were recorded. Said one of the villagers: "It is the oil question again. The expropriation policy is done for. Now they are digging for new wells." The retort came quietly: "No, they do not look like oil men. Oil men talk rough and besides, oil men do not dig; they would have already hired us to do the digging." Carleton Beals, the well-known writer on Latin-American affairs, avers in his latest book that so far as the creation of inter-American good feeling is concerned, that summer job of Ray Newton's college boys in the swamps of Veracruz was worth more than ten thousand Pan-American Day Banquets, and twenty thousand empty speeches of stiff-shirted diplomats.4

The Protestant phenomenon in Latin America is, to be sure, many-sided, and the limits of space forbid an exhaustive recital of all its manifestations, especially when at times they take peculiar hues. Should the reader be interested in the Youth Movement, he would come across memoranda like this: "In Venezuela there can be no federation of young people's societies on a total or national basis, because there are in my country three definitely marked theological territories: the East, the Center, and the West. The West is populated by the Scandinavians (Lutheran mission). The Scandinavians do not approve of girls painting their lips or using any other kind of cosmetic. The Scandinavians object, furthermore, if a girl has a Roman Catholic sweetheart. However, the Scandinavians are willing to have the Venezuelan Protestant youth constitute themselves into a confederation of three federations, East, West and Center;

⁴ Carleton Beals, Lands of the Dawning Morrow. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948.

because in this way and for practical purposes there is no actual mingling of the Western people with those of the Center and East, who have different convictions concerning the practices mentioned above. In this manner, the West preserves, perhaps, its pristine moral purity." In Brazil, however, the organization is direct. The Brazilian Youth Confederation has a membership of 12,000 local societies.

V

Now, when observed both as a transplanting of culture and as a missionary accomplishment, the presence of Protestantism in Latin America is a historical fact out of the ordinary. As to the first, it means the coming together on American soil of the Mediterranean and the North Sea cultures. As to the second, it means the actual capture by Protestantism of lands which statistically were supposed to be Roman Catholic, hence Christian, hence not subject to missionary endeavor. Of course, the premise of the statistics was faulty, for many millions of aboriginal inhabitants of Latin America still cling to their pre-Columbian religious practices. It is also true that nominality of religious allegiance is rampant in those countries. The number of nominal Catholics far exceeds that of practicing ones. (Of course, the same could be said of millions of Protestants in the United States.)

Nevertheless, the majority religion was well established as an institution in every one of those countries when the American missionaries began to pour in with their new idea of salvation in Christ. In the course of some seven-odd decades, the "intruders" have accomplished the impossible; they have created in the midst of a hostile spiritual climate a different religious community—three million strong—in spite of the violent countermeasures undertaken by the ecclesiastical authorities. Apparently the drive of the Protestant movement has been stronger than the defensive measures taken by "the ins." The failure of the Roman Catholic Church in preventing "heresy" from taking hold is indisputable. Of course, there has been a series of explanations of the fact; but the fact is there.

The missionaries opened the ground and sowed the first seeds, but the culture and the harvest have been left to indigenous hands; perhaps it was planned so. It is interesting to observe that there have been instances where the missionary-turned-patriarch could convert himself into a hindrance to the further advance of the gospel. The danger lies in

⁵ From a private report.

the fragility of an individual's judgment, regardless of his personality and saintliness; the gospel is democratic rather than patriarchal. Missionaries should be retired at the proper time, and they should have the grace to leave the pilot wheel for the sake of their youngsters in the Lord.

Where else than in the missionaries, then, can one find the root of the Protestant miracle of the twentieth century? In the grass roots. Latin-American autochthonous Protestantism is already more than a community; it is a community on the march. It is a mass movement. The message has become incarnate in the flesh and the spirit of tens of thousands of "new Christians" who shine for their Evangelical idiosyncrasy: a veritable army of militant extraverts with an admirable consciousness of power from above. If you do not believe in miracles, buy yourself an air ticket to Mexico City, or Havana, or Lima in Peru, or Belo Horizonte, or Sao Paulo in Brazil, or Buenos Aires, or Rosario in Argentina, or Santiago or Punta Arenas in Chile. Drop in at meetings or go to any public park of a Sunday afternoon, and you yourself will get a bit of religion, however wee, even if you do not command the local language. For you will get the meaning of what those preachers are saying simply by looking at them: from the look on their faces and the light in their eyes when they shout, "Folk of Christ, to the charge!" Perhaps it has been the Father's good pleasure to give the Kingdom unto this new people of his, and perhaps, before long, even the sending churches in these United States may feel the fire that in this very hour is sweeping through Latin America with the tempo of a world-shaking conflagration.

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I. ANCIENT LANGUAGE MISUNDERSTOOD

THE PHRASE "KINGDOM OF HEAVEN" has had more than its share of discussion and misuse. It is solidly implanted in the commonplace of everyday speech by its appearance in the translations of Jesus' sayings in the much-used Gospel of Matthew and by its connection with "Father in heaven" in the Lord's Prayer. At one extreme are those who, following Augustine's tortuous reasoning, equate the "kingdom of God" with the church. Anything done for the church is "kingdom business." On the other hand, to the vast majority of people the words mean a heavenly realm, a blissful existence in heaven; and, since it is thought of as entirely spiritual and transcendent, it is also an inner condition of mind which prepares for that future heavenly existence. Actually the English phrase is a mistranslation. Both words, "kingdom" and "heaven," pervert the intention of Jesus.

As has now long been recognized by New Testament scholars, what Jesus meant to say was accurately conveyed by Mark and Luke to Gentile readers—modern as well as ancient—in the Greek expression basileia tou theou, "reign of God." Fifty years ago, in his Words of Jesus, a work still fundamental to Gospel studies, Gustaf Dalman complained that "unfamiliarity with Jewish phraseology caused Christian scholars to misinterpret Jesus' language as if the words attributed a transcendent, or spiritual, character to the idea." Quite the contrary! "Heaven," he pointed out, was simply a Jewish paraphrase for "God," employed in order to avoid using and possibly profaning the sacred Name. Without question Jesus would have followed the custom of his time and said in Aramaic, malkhûthâ dishemayyâ, "sovereignty of the heavens." The customary term accurately conveyed his meaning to his Jewish hearers. He doubtless avoided speaking the name of God as his contemporaries did.

¹ Worte Jesu, Leipzig, 1898, 2d ed., 1930, pp. 75-119; English translation, The Words of Jesus, Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 91-147. See now the article "Basileia," by K. L. Schmidt, K. C. Kuhn, and others in G. Kittel, ed., Theologisches Wörterbuch num Neuen Testament, I, Stuttgart, 1933, pp. 579-95.

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Mark and Luke have theos, "God," where the more Jewish Matthew used "heaven"—because Greek ouranos, "heaven," was not a common substitute for "God," and Greek, like modern, readers would not have understood Jesus' meaning. Like Mark and Luke, we must substitute "God" for "heaven" in the phrase lest we misunderstand the expression and the whole tenor of Jesus' teaching, in supposing him to have proclaimed the coming merely of a state of individual moral perfection and spiritual, eventually heavenly, blessedness.

This is not the only misunderstanding to which the phrase has fallen a victim. The word "kingdom," now so glibly parroted by preachers and teachers in many a well-worn cliché, is equally misleading. The two words, "kingdom" and "heaven," fit well together to pervert the very elect. The "kingdom of heaven," one unconsciously assumes, must be in a place, that is, in heaven, not on earth. The words melukhah and malkhuth in Hebrew and malkhu in Aramaic do not mean "kingdom" primarily in a local or geographic sense, but rather "royal authority," "sovereignty," "dominion." The root stands for "reign," not "realm." Likewise, in a large proportion of its New Testament uses, on careful observation the Greek word basileia will be seen from its context to mean "rule, dominion," and not to indicate a place or territory. It should have been clear to all that, in those expressions which refer to its "coming," or "being near," it can have no other meaning than "reign." In Jesus' parables it is the nature of God's reign that is discussed, with no implied allusion to place, either in heaven or on earth. There is no need to labor the point.

Exactly the same wrong impression is conveyed by the phrases "this world," the "next world," and the "end of the world." The Greek word aion, translated "world" in the previous English versions, is actually the original of the word "eon" and has a similar, but less specialized, meaning. The translation should be "this age," the "next age," the "coming age," and the "close of the age," as it is in the new Revised Standard Version. The expressions refer to the period before the "day of the Lord," to the end of that period, and to the new regime under the reign of God. In themselves they convey no suggestion of the destruction of the earth or of the physical universe. There is in them no taint of "otherworldliness."

The expressions "reign of God," "this age," "the coming age," do not, then, in themselves give any intimation as to where God is to reign or as to the existential state of his subjects in that glorious "future age." It is not easy to determine from the early Christian letters and sermons exactly what Jesus' eschatology was; that is, what he believed as to the "last things" (eschata), the events and conditions when the "close of the

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age" should come. Uncertain also is the nature of the new age which he proclaimed as imminent. Various options have been set before the modern student of the New Testament who wishes to know how to understand and follow Jesus. Aside from the theory of the "social Jesus" which ignores the question of eschatology, they may be characterized as consistent, realized, and transmuted, or, as the last may well be described, inconsistent, eschatology.

"Consistent eschatology," as described by Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer, represents Jesus as accepting a rather infrequent Jewish view that the world was totally evil, and that God would shortly bring it to an end, after which he would establish his reign in a transcendent world. According to "realized eschatology" (Charles H. Dodd), Jesus had actualized the reign of God in himself and his teaching. It had already come. A third view (Ernst von Dobschütz) is that Jesus revised the pessimism and otherworldliness of consistent eschatology by teaching that God was already at work in his world and would shortly establish the new regime either on the present earth or in a regenerated, but not necessarily transcendent world. What data can be discovered in the Gospels to allow a choice among these various views?

II. GOSPEL DATA

Unfortunately, the figurative language in which the day of the Lord and the new age were described in Hebrew and Christian literature from Amos down to Fourth Ezra and the Johannine Apocalypse render it difficult to discover a solid basis for judgment. In the rhapsodical passages which picture the great catastrophe and the new age, language that seems fully transcendent alternates with passages which belong to a purely material earth and human history. The Jewish apocalypses, Daniel, Enoch, and the rest, in their "revelations" of the future, are sharply divided in their conceptions; some clearly look forward to an eternal reign of God on earth, some to an eternal heavenly dominion, while others (the Book of Revelation) expect a temporary reign upon earth followed by a heavenly existence for the righteous. Paul and the author of Hebrews clearly adopt the second view. The language attributed to Jesus in the Gospels suggests that this was the view of their writers.

What, then, of Jesus? Unless one eliminates large sections of the Gospels as later additions to his words, even a cursory survey of the materials shows that he believed in the imminence of a miraculous, catastrophic change which should come when God willed it, suddenly and unexpectedly like a thief in the night. No human action could hasten or retard it. Three

of his parables make this plain. When a man scatters his seed, he can only wake and sleep day and night, waiting for the seed to sprout and grow, he knows not how, for the earth produces of itself (Mark 4:26-29). The visible evidence of the vitality of the reign of God was as insignificant as a mustard seed or a bit of leaven, but the growth of the plant and the leavening of the dough would go on without any human assistance or attention, and the outcome would be astonishing. So it would be with the miraculous coming of the reign of God upon men. No one need doubt the eventual outcome.

It is an indefensible anachronism to read into these sayings reference to the process of growth, to say nothing of the idea of evolution. The point of the three parables is the fact of God's power, which will inexorably accomplish his purposes in ways that are inexplicable to men. All this is entirely in keeping with the "scientific" as well as the religious conceptions of the first century. But evolution was unknown, and whatever happened in nature or society was not customarily explained by natural processes but rather by the action of angelic or demonic agents, under the command of God or Satan. Divine intervention was sure. If the unjust judge finally gave relief to the importunate widow, how much more would God vindicate his own elect who cry unto him day and night (Luke 18: 1-8)!

However, various considerations of a general nature suggest that Jesus was far from taking what would now be properly called a purely transcendent view of the conditions which would prevail under the reign of God after the great intervention. One cannot here invoke the common misinterpretation of Jesus' saying to the Pharisees in Luke (17:21). "The reign of God is not coming with observation (i.e., with visible signs to announce it); neither shall they say, Behold here it is, or there it is; for, behold, the reign of God is in your midst." 2 The context forbids the translation "within you." The last sententious clause might be taken as meaning that the reign of God is already here, as Jesus elsewhere implies, but that the Pharisees could not see it. The context, however, again forbids because of the twice-repeated reference to those who say, "Behold, here, behold, there," and the warning that, when God's reign comes, it will appear with the suddenness and the unmistakable brilliance of lightning which illuminates the whole earth and sky. This clearly indicates that it is to be suddenly in their midst before any observation can detect its approach.

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² The writer's paraphrase of the passage as he understands it.

An outstanding element, however, in Jesus' conception of the reign of God is his belief that, contrary to common apocalyptic conceptions, God was already at work in the world, restraining the power of the demons and preparing men for his imminent assumption of complete sovereignty. Jesus did not share the pessimistic eschatology of the apocalypses according to which the present age was totally evil. On the contrary, God was already reigning, not only in heaven, but on earth. He clothed the lily and cared for sparrows and for men. His powers were visible in Jesus' ministry of preaching to the poor and healing those oppressed by Satan. A full and complete revelation of his might could easily and quickly lead to the absolute overthrow of evil without a destruction or even a radical alteration in the physical universe, for, in Jesus' view, God's world was subject to his will. Only men and demons were rebellious.

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The philosophy of life and history which Jesus shared with his contemporaries was so thoroughly supernaturalistic that existence in the "future age," as they conceived it, could not have appeared to be fundamentally different from that in the "present age." The miraculous intervention which they so passionately desired would be only more thorough and shattering than the numerous divine interpositions which their sacred history recorded of their past. Even under the reign of God, men would live under the necessity of exhibiting the same basic moral attitudes as in ordinary life, if they were to live in co-operative harmony one with another and share the good things of God's world in such complete and satisfying equality that there would be neither rich nor poor, neither hunger nor sorrow.

The theory of realized eschatology, which presents Jesus and his work as already embodying the reign of God, takes account of only a portion of the Gospel data, and thus it spiritualizes or, better, etherealizes what were originally realistic conceptions of miraculous divine intervention. Consistent, or thoroughgoing, eschatology likewise uses only a portion of the data. Each ignores the elements upon which the other depends. Only the theory of transmuted, or inconsistent, eschatology brings all of the discordant data into focus. Jesus cannot be expected to be "consistent" from a modern logical point of view, for he was not a modern. But that does not invalidate the ethics of the reign of God.

III. THE ETHICS OF GOD'S REIGN

Jesus stated the basic qualities which fit a person for God's reign with the utmost clarity and simplicity; they were devoted, obedient loyalty to God and self-effacing love for other persons. These fundamental attitudes inevitably implied others: honesty, truthfulness, humility, kindliness, and many more. Above all they must be manifested in actual living, in deeds that revealed the inner spirit. No outward show of piety, no public performance of worship could take the place of inward devotion and corresponding outward action. However far men fall below such standards, they almost universally recognize them as unimpeachable ideals.

These were the qualities which were to mark persons as fit for the reign of God. But what was to be the moral character of society when God's will was being done? The Beatitudes and the contrasted Woes in the Gospel of Luke (6:20-26) indicate quite explicitly one of its features: there would be neither poor nor rich when God reigned. The poor were fortunate, not because they were poor, but because the reign of God would shortly banish poverty. The sad should laugh, the hungry be fed. But the rich, the fed and fat, the revelers—these had already enjoyed too much.

The literature of social discontent can be traced throughout the ancient Orient for nearly three millennia before Jesus. Social criticism comes to voice in his own times in the bitter tirades, the extravagant "beatitudes," and the savage "woes" of the Jewish apocalypses. literature is a sufficient guarantee that the reign of the gods and, among the Jews, the reign of their just and righteous God, were always believed to embody such a reversal of earthly fates and conditions that none should be poor and none rich above the rest, but that there should be an inexhaustible abundance for all. Pride and power likewise were to be brought low. There would be no tyrants to call themselves "benefactors" while they preyed upon the weak (Luke 22:25). God would put down the mighty from their thrones and exalt the lowly; he would fill the hungry with good things but send the rich empty away (Luke 1:52f). It was more comfortable for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to follow the narrow way into the reign of God (Mark 10:25).

When John the Baptist sent his disciples to question Jesus regarding his role, Jesus pointed to the fact that "good news is preached to the poor" (Luke 7:22 = Matt. 11:5). Luke (4:18) selects the verse from Isaiah (61:1) which contains the promise of preaching good news to the poor, as the passage which Jesus read in the synagogue at Nazareth as that day "fulfilled in their ears." What was the good news? Exactly this, that when God came to reign, their poverty, their woe, their hunger would

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be at an end. Their faith in the righteousness of God would shortly be vindicated. Jesus excoriated the injustice of a society which starves some and pampers others. He was concerned, not only about individual morality, but also about economic and social justice, just as were the prophets and apocalyptists of all the ancient Near East. There is an inescapable social element in the teachings of Jesus. It continued what was, in truth, the raison d'être of the prophetic-apocalyptic tradition regarding the reign of God. It concerns, not merely the relation of individual to individual within society—the so-called social virtues—but also the political, economic, and societal organization under which men live.

IV. THE MODERN RELEVANCE OF JESUS' ETHICS

Both realized and consistent eschatology weaken, if not destroy, the relevance and force of Jesus' ethical teachings. Realized eschatology puts the reign of God within the heart and provides a pietistic, otherworldly escape from social problems. Consistent eschatology regards Jesus' ethics as applicable only to the interim between Jesus' preaching and the imminent breaking in of the new transcendent age when ethical conduct will be automatic because evil will be no more. But, even if transmuted eschatology is to be accepted, if Jesus believed that the reign of God was in some sense already miraculously present and was to be miraculously inaugurated in full power in the immediate future, what value can his teachings have for those who do not live in such a miraculous universe? Has not the social Jesus, as some joyfully announce, entirely disappeared?

To answer such a question, an often-neglected principle of interpretation must be applied. The original historical significance of ancient persons and their ideas, considered from the standpoint of critical history, must be understood in the light of their own ancient situation. To answer the question as to their modern relevance and meaning, it is necessary to ask whether there are permanent elements in their lives and thought which apply to modern situations and can be interpreted in modern language and concepts. The results of the historical-critical study of the Gospels, so inadequately summarized above, must be considered in the light of now-current knowledge and conditions.

History has proved that the joyful expectation of a divine intervention was wholly mistaken. Our knowledge of man's slow ascent from prehistoric primitivity and of his dramatic struggles upward during the past six thousand years of history indicates indisputably that man himself

is the author of all that happens to him and his society. He is the source of both good and evil. If God is to reign, it must come about through men who will to do his will.

Jesus' conceptions of good and evil, his ideals of conduct, and his remedies for the evils of society—that is to say, his ethical principles, his moral standards, and his practical moral demands—were not the product of the mistaken conceptions of the world and history which he shared with his contemporaries, but of their common faith in the righteousness of God. The outward form, not the essential content, was affected by contemporary science and philosophy.

It is to be admitted that there are "counsels of perfection" in Jesus' teachings. There are high demands and paradoxical exhortations which arose from his poetic temperament, the necessities of popular preaching, and his own superior level of moral insight. There are also "interim" elements. It can hardly be denied that Jesus' vivid expectation of an immediate irruption of God's miraculous powers to overthrow evil and establish right-eousness among men must have colored his language and thought. In this, as in many other matters, he could not but be a child of his age; he thought in its terms and spoke its language. Otherwise he would not have been understood. But such admissions do not touch the fundamental elements of his ethical postulates and moral ideals.

To these general philosophical and scientific considerations must be added certain social-historical factors which play a large part in any attempt at honest, objective exegesis. Jesus' theological and eschatological beliefs led him to think that men could only wait and pray for the coming of the reign of God. His position as a member of a subject race in a world empire and as one of the amme ha-ares, the submerged mass of the insignificant, within his own nation powerfully reinforced this quietistic attitude. As a Jew he could have no effect whatever upon the Herodian and procuratorial governments of Palestine except by armed revolt. He could affect reforms within his own nation either by revolt or by the public expression of his views in criticism of things as they were. He chose the latter course, and the cross was the outcome.

He seems to have foreseen the futility of the program of what Josephus calls the "fourth sect," the Zealotic revolutionaries who were plotting war against the Romans and against the complaisant Sadducean collaborationists who profited by Roman rule. Perhaps, as has been suggested, his personal observation of the results of earlier revolts against the Romans reinforced his judgment that war was fruitless as well as wrong.

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The criticisms which John the Baptist and Jesus are reported to have leveled against Jewish society indicate that their leaders were entirely lacking in the moral capacity for governing their own people, not to mention the world rulership which popular hope anticipated as following the coming of the reign of God. It is no wonder, then, that Jesus proffers no social program, that he counsels appearement of enemies, and that he appears to be a pacifist. Neither for himself nor for his people did he anticipate the burdens of government. Such problems did not come within his purview.

In other words, his own historical situation as well as his conception of history was so different from ours that in the area of practical means for realizing his ideals and standards of conduct, his quietistic, pacifistic advice to his contemporaries cannot serve as directions for our conduct. Yet many contemporary Christians have been, and many still are, in much the same situation as Jesus; for example, the Confessional Christians under Hitler, Protestants under the Catholic regime in Spain, Christians in communist territory in China and within the Russian orbit. At the Amsterdam World Council of Churches, Chinese Christians called attention to the fact that they may soon find themselves a small minority within a hostile nation. Christians in totalitarian states can take no real part in government or public life unless they wish to invite martyrdom; they can undertake no reforms unless they go "underground" and prepare to fight, as many did in Germany and occupied France. They have to live as Jesus did in Palestine and as did the early Christians in the Roman Empire. must wait for time and their own patient devotion to solve their problems.

Christian citizens in a democratic country are in a very different position. They cannot escape responsibility for the acts of the state and for social conditions. They may often feel frustrated and helpless before the apparently invincible evil forces within society. Only the morally blind can think that any church or group actually represents the reign of God. But, particularly in a country such as the United States, no Christian conscience can feel free until everything possible has been done to right the social wrongs and reduce the evils which are so monstrously apparent in so-called Christian countries.

Above all, two distinctions must be made if we would understand the differences which often separate one group of Christians from another: the distinction between possible and impossible ends, and that between ends and means. It is easy to romanticize ends, to use a phrase of T. V. Smith; that is, to set up impossible goals. Ancient Jews and ancient as well as modern Christians have often done that in their pictures of the glories of the reign of God. In expecting that God would establish perfect justice and peace upon earth by a miraculous intervention, they romanticized both ends and means. Thus, as Reinhold Niebuhr has pointed out, they put to God an impossible alternative: either perfect righteousness on earth or an impotent God. In a material universe and among men of flesh and blood, men who are climbing slowly out of animality into manhood but are of the earth earthy, a perfect society can never be expected. Nevertheless, it is possible for men to embody the basic ideals of Jesus. It is possible for man to learn to control the beast that is in him. This describes in the briefest possible form the ends toward which man must work.

The means available, however, determine to no small extent the possible ends. The romanticized ends of ancient apocalypticism demanded romanticized means, and the romanticized means made the impossible ends seem possible, with sad results for both Judaism and Christianity. Five thousand years of written history should have made it as clear to us as sunlight that God will work no miracles to save man from the evil consequences of his errors and his sins. The regenerative and recuperative forces that work in nature, in history, and in the soul of man are astonishing beyond measure. In the midst of our struggle with the recalcitrant physical world and with the problems of society, it often seems that the universe is irrational, that it is neutral or even hostile to moral values. Yet we discover that, when we learn what nature's laws are and use them with intelligence, we can bend nature to our will. The same thing applies to the problems of the individual soul and of society. By our own efforts we have to learn how to overcome evil with good. The good is in the universe. To put it in religious terms, this is God's world, and God is on man's side. But God, like a wise and loving Father, will work no miracles to do for man what he can do for himself.

The "liberal" of half a century ago who preached a reforming Jesus and an overoptimistic, evolutionary social gospel was guilty of an indefensible modernization and romanticization. But those who now gleefully berate the social gospelers and urge a return to Nicene or Reformation theology are neither modern nor "evangelical." They are surely far from the Jesus who demanded not theology but deeds. The world will not go to heaven on an evolutionary escalator. But those who now proclaim the bankruptcy of social Christianity and the degeneracy of civilization are guilty of two errors. They refuse to see a revelation of God in the light which biology and history have thrown upon the progress of the

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Weis Wild race, and they reject Jesus' conception of a divine Power at work in the world for good. Instead they return to the pessimism of consistent eschatology which Jesus rejected.

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A reinterpretation of the idea of the reign of God to fit the realities of history and of life carries with it a reinterpretation of the meaning of the cross. Jesus went to the cross in the line of duty, in his conflict with evil. Christians in totalitarian lands have to make the same sacrifice. The cross suggests what the Christian has to face in every land and every age—evils that kill the good, evil persons who oppose progress and defeat justice. The cross means that there is a never-ending conflict in which the Christian has to fight the evils that spawn in society and the inertia that ignores them, to fight often hopelessly, knowing that only the long-distant future will vindicate him against the calumnies of those who call themselves the "benefactors" of society. In an imperfect world the reign of God is always coming, but can never be fully realized. Yet he who looks away unto Jesus, the pioneer and perfecter of our faith, will always see victory in defeat and recognize the coming of the reign of God.

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The Pros and Cons of C. S. Lewis*

CHAD WALSH

C. S. LEWIS is undoubtedly the most influential lay defender of Christianity in England and America. His books are read by thousands who would never touch the usual sort of "religious book." He has been particularly successful in interesting—and sometimes winning over—readers who are indifferent or definitely hostile to Christianity. Since this quiet Oxford don has become the chief spokesman for Christianity in the minds of so many readers, the strong and weak points of his apologetics are of importance to the Christian world. He has placed himself abundantly on record with a dozen books on religious themes, and it seems time for a tentative evaluation of them.

The books themselves fall into several rather sharply separated classes.¹ The Case for Christianity, Christian Behaviour, and Beyond Personality are slender volumes based on the immensely popular series of talks he gave over the BBC several years ago. They are witty, straightforward statements of basic Christian morality and theology. Two books of a more technical sort, designed to grapple with a couple of the major stumbling blocks to an acceptance of Christianity, are The Problem of Pain and Miracles.

Several of his books make use of novel literary techniques. The best known of these are the justly celebrated Screwtape Letters (epistles from an important official of the Lowerarchy of Hell to his demon-assistant on the earth) and The Great Divorce, a poignant fantasy about a busload of ghosts who journey from the "gray city" to the frontiers of heaven, but for the most part refuse to stay there because the landscape is unbearable to their feet unless they first "thicken up," and they cannot thicken up without abandoning their favorite sins.

Less familiar to the general reader are Lewis' three novels, Out of the Silent Planet, Perelandra, and That Hideous Strength. They have been unfairly neglected by the critics, perhaps because the three books are

* Copyright, 1949, by Chad Walsh.

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¹ All the books mentioned are published by The Macmillan Company.

Based on a chapter from the book, C. S. Lewis: Apostle to the Skeptics, to be published by The Macmillan Company in the spring of 1949. Chad Walsh, A.M., Ph.D., is Associate Professor of English, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin.

not actually novels in the ordinary sense but three installments of one vast myth. In the first novel, the hero, Ransom (a Cambridge philologist who bears a suspicious resemblance to Lewis) is kidnaped by a half-mad scientist and taken via spaceship to Mars. Arriving there, he escapes and learns to know the Martians firsthand. He discovers three different species of rational beings, all living in great harmony together, and worshiping Maleldil (Christ). There are also spiritual beings, rather like angels, who are nearly invisible to Ransom's eyes, and are called eldila. The planet is ruled by Oyarsa, a sort of super-eldil, who, of course, is merely the deputy of Maleldil.

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After many adventures the space-travelers return to mother earth. In *Perelandra* Ransom is mysteriously summoned to Venus by the *eldila*. He travels thither in a sort of magic coffin, and soon after arriving encounters a lovely woman, similar to earthly women except that she is bright green in color. God has just created the human race on Venus. The new Adam is temporarily away on an exploring expedition. Ransom soon discovers why he had been ordered to Venus. Weston, the crazy scientist, appears in his spaceship. The devil is now incarnate in him, and is determined to talk the Eve of Venus into disobeying Maleldil, thereby bringing about a repetition of the Fall of Man.

For chapter after chapter Ransom and Weston struggle with words and wits for the soul of the green woman. At last Ransom resorts to physical combat and eventually triumphs. Humanity on Venus will not suffer the sad fate of mankind upon the earth.

The third novel, That Hideous Strength, is the story of the devil's attempt to gain control first of England and eventually of the whole world through the "National Institute of Co-ordinated Experiments"—an organization ostensibly established to encourage the social application of science. The leaders of the N.I.C.E.—appropriately named Frost and Wither—actually take their orders from the "macrobes" (evil spirits). The forces of light are led by Ransom and a small handful of Christians. Eventually they achieve victory, but Ransom warns his followers that Satan is only temporarily defeated.

The three novels are written with a genuine feeling for myth, a startling vividness of imagination, and a sure feeling for the relevance of Christianity at every moment in life. I cannot help believing they will eventually be recognized as both literary and religious classics.

It is not necessary to read all of Lewis' books to become convinced that he is remarkably successful in explaining and defending traditional

Christian theology and morality. Naturally, he does not satisfy anyone completely. The Roman Catholics detect minor heresies here and there; the fundamentalists are made uneasy by his attitude toward the "literal inspiration of the Bible." But it is doubtful whether any modern theologian has more effectively concentrated on the main points of agreement shared by most Christians throughout the world.

The common-denominator theology that Lewis presents is not the theology of the modernists, and Lewis himself recognizes this. To attempt a theology equally satisfactory to the modernists and the orthodox is a logical impossibility. It could be little more than ethical culture, and would have to omit the doctrines that orthodox Christians consider the core of their religion. Lewis does not make the attempt. He regards modernism as a heresy, attacks it as such, and devotes his energies to advancing the main Christian tradition.

This main tradition Lewis presents not only clearly but persuasively. Never leaning upon mere emotion in his arguments, he gives the potential Christian solid intellectual reasons for accepting the ancient faith—and at the same time fights a running battle with all brands of "naturalists." However, he does not leave the matter a purely intellectual one. A subtle fragrance of the Blue Flower is exhaled from his books. Christianity becomes as alluring as a fairy tale, and its grim demands somehow woo the emotions as well as the mind.

He does not do everything. His blueprints for personal morality are clear and usable, but he offers little guidance to the Christian concerned with the large-scale application of religion to society. One can read the entire Lewis corpus and still not know whether the U. N. is the will of Christ or of the Antichrist; the eldila of Deep Heaven in Lewis's novels converse of many things, but not of labor unions and erosion control. For a Christian social philosophy one turns to Maritain, Niebuhr, Berdyaev, George MacLeod, and many others—not to C. S. Lewis.

Lewis is also of little use to the reader who wants a new synthesis of science and religion to supplement or replace that of St. Thomas Aquinas. Lewis is no obscurantist; he is not against the facts and technique of science. He puts no obstacles in the way of the geologist who also wants to be a Christian. But Lewis' background, as he himself recognizes, is philosophic and literary. He would agree that the task of integrating modern science into the Christian framework, so that each is illuminated by the other, must be undertaken by Christian scientists. A start has been made by such scientists as the astronomer, Sir James Jeans, and the biologist, Lecomte

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du Noüy. For future attempts of this sort Lewis' books should be invaluable, for they provide the scientist with a clear outline of the Christian datum.

Lewis is also of little use in meeting the challenge of Gerald Heard, Aldous Huxley, and the other apostles of eclectic mysticism. One gets the impression that Lewis is slightly antagonistic (or perhaps just bewildered) in regard to mysticism. Some day the relationship between the "perennial philosophy" and Christianity will have to be worked out. This, again, is a job for specialists—an equal familiarity with Christian orthodoxy and all the main traditions of mysticism throughout the world is required.²

I mention what Lewis has not done, not as a reproach to him, but to suggest to his over-ardent admirers that an exclusive diet of his works is not wholesome. His books contain all doctrines "necessary to salvation," but not all ideas necessary for incarnating Christianity into society. Lewis presents Christianity in an almost chemically pure state; there is also an honored place due to writers who are willing to alloy it with baser metals.

To turn now from what he does not do to what he does. The tone of Lewis' books has sometimes been attacked. A number of reviewers have accused him of lack of compassion. The English philosopher, C. E. M. Joad (before his return to the Anglican Church) inquired why Lewis in *The Screwtape Letters* felt himself entitled to rail so confidently against other people's shortcomings: "Is it perhaps symptomatic that one of the failings of which I can find no adequate treatment in the Letters is that of Pharisaism, in the heart of which lurks the belief that we were sent into the world to air our moral prejudices?" * The Great Divorce* provoked similar outbursts from several critics.

Now it is a sad truth that the greatest Christian writers have not been filled with compassion at all moments. The theologian would doubt-less attribute this to Original Sin, which makes it impossible to be completely Christian for twenty-four hours at a stretch. At any rate, Dante, who was able to lead the reader straight up to the Beatific Vision, was not conspicuously charitable toward the damned souls in hell. Some of them had been his enemies in life and he still hated them now that they were dead. One in particular, Filippo Argenti, inspired such loathing in the Florentine that his only desire was to increase the poor creature's misery. Turning to Virgil he said, "Sir, I'd very much like to see him ducked in this muirch before we leave the lake." And Virgil replied:

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² A good start has been made by Alan W. Watts, in Behold the Spirit, Pantheon Books, Inc., 1947.
⁸ The New Statesman and Nation, May 16, 1942.

"Before you see the shore you shall be satisfied; your wish is a very reasonable one." Dante then recorded with quiet contentment: "Shortly after this, I saw the muddy people rend him so handsomely that even now I give praise and thanks to God for the sight." 4

Lewis is not as good a hater as Dante, but his general attitude toward the unsympathetic characters in his books is one of sufficient coldness—"they're getting what they deserve"—to merit a moment's examination.

The charge of Pharisaism can, I think, be dismissed. "I have all the usual vices: the only virtue (if it is a virtue) which I can claim in any marked degree is a patience, amounting almost to a liking, for bores," Lewis wrote in a letter to his publishers. In his preface to *The Problem of Pain* he assures his readers that he does not live up to the Spartan principles he intends to advocate. His whole manner is of a piece with this; one cannot imagine him following in St. Paul's footsteps and urging his admirers to take him as a model of Christian conduct.

But that does not quite dispose of the matter. It remains true that the evil characters in Lewis' books are depicted with a sort of scientific objectivity; he shows little apparent pity as he watches their progress toward hell. The explanation probably lies in the "either-or" slant of his thinking, plus his belief in free will. In the novels, Weston is not compelled to become the incarnation of the devil: by a series of choices he voluntarily opens himself up. Wither and Frost have trained themselves step by step to be the servants of the macrobes. The apostate bishop of The Great Divorce has turned from the faith because of intellectual laziness and love of popularity. All of them have made themselves what they are. In hell they should feel at home, for they have created hell.

The Blessed Spirits of *The Great Divorce* try every appeal to persuade the ghosts to stay and "thicken up," but when they fail (as almost always they do), they go about their celestial business apparently as cheerful as ever. The narrator is troubled at their seeming heartlessness, but George Macdonald curtly asks whether he wants to give the makers of misery a veto power over all happiness.⁵

That, then, is the dilemma—how can men be saved if they can use their free will to reject salvation? And if they insist on damnation, must everyone else spend an eternity weeping for them? From a logical point of view, I do not see how the dilemma can be solved. The slightly disagreeable feeling that one sometimes gets from Lewis' books—the im-

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⁸ p. 124. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

pression that he is too unmoved at the spectacle of damnation—is the price he pays for intellectual honesty. He tries to see the problem sub specie aeternitatis, and we perhaps feel a little presumption in the attempt.

To rule out sentimentalism without destroying compassion is very difficult. And yet, it can be done. Charles Williams, in Descent into Hell and All Hallows' Eve, follows several characters to their damnation, and somehow his tone throughout is one of grave compassion unmixed with the least trace of sloppy sentimentality. But his ability in this respect is almost unique.

I suspect, though I have no direct evidence, that Lewis' belated reconversion to Christianity sharpens his tone a trifle. He must feel himself a brand snatched at the eleventh hour from the burning. Such a state of mind often impedes charity toward sinners still complacent in their self-created illusions. It seems to me that Lewis pictures damnation a bit more convincingly than salvation—in contrast with George Macdonald and Charles Williams, who contrive to make salvation more interesting than its opposite.

The other charge commonly leveled against Lewis is that of patness, glibness, oversimplification. He is accused of making black too black, white too white.

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So far as the broadcast talks are concerned the charge is necessarily true. A series of ten-minute addresses cannot deal with all the ifs, ands, and buts. They are maps showing only the larger cities and rivers of the Christian landscape.

In his work as a whole I fancy one does detect a certain trace of patness. The books are neat, orderly, rather like the trim lawns and flower beds of Oxford. Whenever I reread the chapter on "Animal Pain" in *The Problem of Pain*, I find myself thinking of the tame deer of Magdalen Park. To Lewis, the "salvation" (if one may use the word) of animals is dependent on their having a kind master, which is fine for dogs and cats and hard on potato beetles. Evelyn Underhill, the well-known Anglican mystic, wrote to Lewis in this regard:

Where, however, I do find it impossible to follow you, is in your chapter on animals. "The tame animal is in the deepest sense the only natural animal the beasts are to be understood only in their relation to man and through man to God." This seems to me frankly an intolerable doctrine and a frightful exaggeration of what is involved in the primacy of man. Is the cow which we have turned into a milk machine or the hen we have turned into an egg machine really nearer to the mind of God than its wild ancestor? When my cat goes off on her own occasions I'm sure she goes with God—but I do not feel so sure of her theo-

logical position when she is sitting on the best chair before the drawing-room fire. Perhaps what it all comes to is this, that I feel your concept of God would be

improved by just a touch of wildness.6

And there I shall leave it. Lewis, whose mind and imagination explore Deep Heaven, takes a bit of Oxford with him wherever he goes; the landscapes of Malacandra (Mars) are as geometrical as the quads of Magdalen College; the hierarchy of the ancient planet is logically ordered and easily outlined in a fifty-minute lecture.

Lewis, like every other writer, has the virtues of his defects and the defects of his virtues. If his mind were less tidy he would not be able to describe Christianity as lucidly as he does. But the very tidiness of his mind means that certain wild mysteries may not find lodging in his thought.

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⁶ Charles Williams, ed., The Letters of Evelyn Underhill. Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, Toronto, 1943, pp. 300-02. By permission of the publishers.

Theology and Philosophy of Religion

J. HARRY COTTON

I

MODERN PHILOSOPHY has been haunted by a specter. As a class philosophers do not like to admit the existence of specters, much less to being frightened by them. But this particular specter has afflicted not only modern philosophy; it has dominated our whole modern culture. The specter hovers about our definition of knowledge. Beginning with Descartes and Spinoza, knowledge was defined in exact, mathematical terms. The certainty of mathematics was so clear and compelling that they proposed to find the same clarity in all knowledge. The ideal persists. The physical sciences have been seeking ever since Descartes' day to reduce themselves to mathematical form. The social sciences have envied and imitated the natural sciences. The results have been so impressive that today every schoolboy learns that mathematical truth is truth par excellence. Our whole culture is dominated by this ideal. To prove anything means to reduce it to mathematical law. Even logic has its calculus of classes and calculus of relations. Certainty is mathematical exactness. Any claim that does not carry this sort of support is condemned to the outer darkness of the doubtful and the suspect.

The ideal has been modified in one important respect. The new physics deals with probability rather than certainty. Absolute predictability is now given up. But the mathematical ideal persists. For probability is in terms of percentages based on statistical averages. It is not unlike the prediction that on a certain holiday so many Americans will lose their lives in traffic accidents. The measure of the prediction is in terms of a mathematical ratio. If prediction is successful 9 times out of 10, the ratio is 9/10. The method aspires to achieve the ratio of 10/10 or 1, when all prediction would be accurate. Thus while in fact accepting uncertainty, science is still governed by the ideal of mathematical accuracy.

With this ideal in science no rational person can quarrel. But it has had disastrous consequences for philosophical and religious thought. Men have brought this hunger for mathematical certainty to their re-

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ligious quest and have sought to make the Living God conform to their method and answer their questions. This demand then forced a choice between two alternatives. You could follow Dewey, Whitehead, Wieman, and say that much could be known about God because God was a part of the natural process. God could then be known just like any other object in nature. Or if you kept to the traditional God, who is Creator and outside of and above the process of nature, you were driven to say that he was unknowable, because knowledge is confined to that which is in the process. Kant had first made this clear in his criticism of the theistic arguments. The theory of knowledge thus drove men to be either naturalists or agnostics. It was a sorry plight.

In general, the philosophers of religion have followed Professor Dewey. They have not always agreed with him, but have tried to work from his premises. Dewey believes in a God who is in the process, resident in both nature and society. But our knowledge of God is to be strictly scientific. Dewey objects to the pretended knowledge of the theologians just because it is not scientific. He is willing to accept much of the Christian tradition as valid, with the important condition that it be regarded as symbolism and does not lay claim to intellectual assent, does not purport to represent outward fact. He calls for the "surrender of the whole notion of special truths that are religious by their own nature, together with the idea of peculiar avenues of access to such truths." 1 Most philosophers who work in Dewey's camp have given up belief in a personal God. The knowledge of God is entirely man's affair. God takes no initiative. There is no self-revelation of God, but only such revelation as a stone makes to the geologist. God is never known as a person, is known only as an object, a kind of thing. It is important to see what the naturalists are seeking to save, for it is very much worth saving. It is the whole relevance and purity of the scientific method.

On the other hand, many modern theologians are strangely willing to make terms with the agnosticism of Kant. They are visibly relieved by the seeming failure of the ontological argument. They are quite willing to surrender knowledge to the philosophers and rest their case entirely on faith. For knowledge easily ministers to our pride. Human pride looks down on that which is known, while faith humbly looks up to that which is beyond knowledge. It seems a strange generalization: the more knowledge the more pride. If this position were valid then the theologians should always dread knowledge from whatever source,

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¹ A Common Faith, Yale University Press, 1934, pp. 32-3.

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even from revelation, as making for pride. At any rate, the contrary proposition can hardly hold, that the more ignorance the more humility. Yet knowledge is widely regarded as an alternative to faith, indeed, as the enemy of faith. Karl Barth, at the beginning of his Gifford lectures, frankly owns that he is "an opponent of all natural theology." He reminds us that he is a teacher of the Reformed Theology, which "is the clear antithesis to that form of teaching which declares that man himself possesses the capacity and the power to inform himself about God, the world, and man." And Richard Kroner writes, "The consciousness of the ultimacy of our ignorance is the source of religious awe. We cannot fear a demonstrated God; we cannot even love him."

The philosopher is quite willing to work with faith in its ordinary human usages, for example, as something like the hypothesis of the scientist. But for the faith of the theologian he has no use, simply because it means the surrender of rationality, and that in turn threatens the whole structure of science. The philosopher tends to call the theologian muddleheaded, if not superstitious, traditionalist, authoritarian, ecclesiastic, pathological—the epithets are varied and vigorous. The theologian tends to regard the philosopher as depraved, perverted by sinful pride. As Étienne Gilson remarks of a contemporary theological school, all it "asks of philosophy is that it recognize itself as damned and remain in that condition." ⁵

II

This mutual disdain, while not universal, is yet widespread and should be taken seriously. Its basic origin is in the theory of knowledge which both sides implicitly accept. It is time, then, that we bring the hidden specter to light, and re-examine what it is that sets philosophers of religion and theologians in hostile camps.

This we can best do by asking two simple questions. How do I know my neighbor's mind? and, how do I know that my neighbor's mind exists? Philosophers have stumbled over these two questions. We know things of nature through an outer sense, said John Locke, and our own thoughts and feelings through an inner sense. But he mentioned no sense by which I can know my neighbor's mind. Nor, for that matter, has any other philosopher. Yet they have wrestled with the problem

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² The Knowledge of God and the Service of God. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939, p. 6.

Ibid., p. Q.

⁴ The Primacy of Faith. The Macmillan Company, 1943, p. 94.

⁵ Christianity and Philosophy. Sheed and Ward, 1939, p. 47.

again and again. Knowledge of other minds we surely have. Yet no one has been able to explain it. Let us consider how we know that we know.

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I. We would have no knowledge of a material world without other minds. It is simply not true to say that we begin with a knowledge of nature, develop a sense of our own body and its behavior, then reason from my neighbor's bodily behavior to the existence of his mind. That is to reverse the actual order. It is through my neighbor's mind that I learn that there is an objective world—out there! I believe in the reality of a physical object before me not so much from my own senses as from the fact that I see other people treating this object as real. It was from another, probably my mother, that I learned to trust my senses, and what is more important, to interpret them. As Hocking has observed, "The hermit, the lonely sheep-driver, is likely to succumb to his illusions, living with them in preference to the world which we of the majority call real. The 'established character' of nature is sharpest where men are thickest, is clearly some function of the volume of our empirical conversation: it gives the impression of being a consensus effect."

2. We could have no consciousness of ourselves as persons save from intercourse with other minds. I come to believe in myself as a person because I see other people treating me as a person. Royce made much of our coming to self-consciousness through a series of contrast effects. A child learns by imitating the doings of others. One of his earliest imitations is that of speech. But whatever and whenever the imitation, the child soon becomes painfully aware of the contrast between the other's way of doing and his own. This contrast is heightened when he finds purposes that conflict with his own. It is then that self-consciousness suffers a rude awakening. Even into adult life, as both Royce and James have shown, my consciousness of self fluctuates, borrows heavily from what others think of me, resists their blame, welcomes their praise, is heightened by the one, depressed by the other. It is doubtful if any of us could keep his sanity for more than a few weeks if everyone else ignored us, looked through and beyond but not at us, addressed no word to us, did not hear us when we spoke, treated us as nonexistent. Royce claims that an infant left alone and growing to maturity without human companionship would as an adult have about as much self-consciousness as a fairly well-educated cat.7

William E. Hocking, The Meaning of God in Human Experience, 1912, p. 293.

⁷ Josiah Royce: Studies of Good and Evil, 1898, p. 208.

It is true that some philosophers recognize no difficulty at this point. Of course, we have knowledge of other persons, just as we have of other objects in nature. As a matter of fact, we see them act and move, learn to interpret those actions by comparing them with our own, and go on to interpret their speech. But the explanation ends with a knowledge of another person as an object in our experience, which is not knowledge of another person at all. And if the philosopher admits that we know other persons as subjects, that is precisely our point. We do know other persons as subjects of experience, but our theory of knowledge will not allow it. Here is our difficulty.

Let us have a better look at it. What really happens when we know another person? At first other persons are merely instrumental to our own good. They are our objects, things in our world. Then, usually through conflict of interest, we learn to regard them as subjects, a regard which is a strange mingling of trust and hostility, of love and of hatred. If we are to become friends we see each other dealing with the world of nature and the world of affairs. We see each other in the world of other persons. So we come to know what the other person is. But it is in conversation that this knowledge really comes into its own. When he "unburdens his heart" to me, I am getting at the real man. He alone can impart his meanings in full clarity. But he can never impart himself to me fully, precisely because he is as much of an enigma to himself as I am to myself. If we are mature we never take another's estimate of himself at face value. We are subject to illusions about ourselves. It is a needful part of our duty to each other as friends to bring these illusions to light, to be faithful in correcting our respective self-estimates.

There are two inseparable aspects in this knowledge of a friend. The one is theoretical and conforms to the requirements of exact logic. Without this aspect our friend would become merely a kindly blur. But there is a strong ethical element, too. Indeed, as Aristotle observed, there can be genuine friendship only between two good persons. But there is more. We can never really know another until we are willing to commit some of our vital personal interests to his keeping. We risk ourselves in friendship, nothing less. This kind of trust is itself a kind of knowing and creates some of the facts upon which knowledge draws. If the knowledge is to be complete this trust is to ripen into love. For the deepest secrets of a human person are reserved for the respect, the patience, the strength, and the tenderness of love. Love sees what must otherwise remain invisible.

It is clear that this knowledge involves not only the exact knowledge of fact, but the whole realm of vital interests, the realm of morals and faith. Faith and reason are not alternate ways of knowing friends. They are inseparable parts of one living whole. Let faith and reason go their separate ways and we shall have no friends, but end in insane isolation.

Our analysis of the experience of friendship should now throw some light on the conflict between theology and philosophy of religion. If our encounter with human persons involves our moral attitudes, our vital interests, our trust, our love, as the condition of knowledge, how much more are they all involved in the knowledge of God! For God involves our vital interests far more intimately and completely than any human friend. This insight says something to both philosophers and theologians.

III

The philosopher is recalled to the importance of revelation. The knowledge of God as a fact in the world process does not deeply involve our vital interests, our selves, for such a God remains an object that we discover. If our knowledge of human persons rests upon personal communication through conversation, how much more does our knowledge of God rest upon his speaking to us! If God is the supreme subject of experience, then he alone can declare his own purposes. Paul gave the final argument for revelation, "For what person knows a man's thoughts except the spirit of the man which is in him? So also no one comprehends the thoughts of God except the Spirit of God." If God is really God, then all that men think about him, all that we can experience, all our reasons and surmises of faith, are unimportant and irrelevant before what God has to say about himself. And if our most vital interest is our relation to him, then his word about that relation is of first importance.

There are three life-and-death questions which we cannot answer for ourselves, where our thought and experience are dumb, where we must hear God's own speech or be doomed to ignorance.

The first question is that of ultimate Being, the age-long question of philosophy. To this question God's answer is that he is alone God—that he is the Creator. Now this is beyond our thought. We can use the words "creation out of nothing," but we cannot think them. We cannot even imagine what they mean. Even our imagination partakes of the form of time, and we are quite powerless to conceive a beginning in time. Like little children we ask, "What was before the beginning?"

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⁸ I Corinthians 2:11. From the Revised Standard Version.

This rational contradiction is so severe that recent thinkers have tried to escape it by resort to a finite God. But such a God is at best a candidate for Godhead.

The second question concerns our destiny and our death. Let us be clear about the question. It is not merely our own survival after death. Most of us, I suppose, could muster enough heroism to give up life, however much we love being alive, and however clearly we understand that death means final extinction, if some good were to come of it. But death is far more devastating. It is the negation not only of life but of all for which we live. All our loves, all our loyalties, all the human beings that give meaning to all our institutions, all for which we labor and hope, all are under sentence of death.

For this question our human knowledge has no answer. We may reason from the fact of our human love, from the fact of complete destruction if there is no immortality, from the complete absence of meaning if death ends all, or from any of the familiar grounds that are usually advanced on Easter Sunday as reasons for belief in immortality. Yet these arguments are only more or less eloquent expressions of our need, of our cry for light. They do not answer the central question—is it true? Here, to be honest, no human word will do. God's word, spoken in the Risen Christ, this alone is the clear answer.

Yet to many people the answer is not clear. Nor does the word about creation carry any conviction. This needs to be carefully noted. Revelation does not become revelation until it answers the third and supreme question: What is God's attitude toward us as sinners? Now as long as we accept a merely moralistic conception of sin, as the disregard of this or that human custom, or even as the breaking of this or that divine commandment, we cannot understand the need of revelation, or the meaning of God's forgiveness. If this or that vicious habit is the only meaning of human disability, then man can save himself. It is not easy, but we have known many who under some deep emotional strain have made a clean break with old habit.

But the biblical doctrine of sin is far more profound. Sin is revolt against God; it is pride; it is disobedience; it is idolatry, substituting ourselves for God, taking to ourselves the prerogatives over our own life and the lives of others, which belong to God alone. If all this is true, then we are utterly dependent upon revelation for the answer to the central concern of the human spirit. Man cannot remove his alienation from God. This hostility has become part of his very being. Plainly we cannot for-

give ourselves. Nor can any man pronounce our forgiveness. If we reason our way into forgiveness, or demand it as our right, we become guilty of the grossest moral presumption. All is of grace, and grace can be made known only by God himself declaring his merciful attitude toward the sinner.

This is the basic revelation. When by faith a man accepts this revelation, he is not merely receiving a divine body of facts. He himself is being made a "new creature." His center is being restored to where it belonged all along—in God. God becomes God again. Man is man once more. It is important to note that revelation and salvation are phases of one event; that the faith by which we receive the forgiveness of sins and the faith by which we receive the revelation of God in Christ is one faith; and that the work of grace in giving us assurance of our forgiveness and in assuring us that the revelation in Jesus Christ is indeed the Word of God are one working of the Holy Spirit. This faith is at the same time a kind of knowing. And it is precisely in this knowledge that we are prepared to believe that God is Creator, and that God, having raised us from the death of sin, has already imparted eternal life to us.

IV

All this needs to be said to the philosopher who is bound by the traditional definition of knowledge and who despises faith. But our insight speaks to the theologian, too. This encounter with God is a momentous kind of knowing. It will generate its own ideas, which must be allowed a free and open encounter with all other ideas, if faith is not to wither in isolation. It is hard to understand what Richard Kroner means when he writes, "I cannot combine in one and the same act the attitude of theoretical comprehension and that of prayer or submission to the will of God and acknowledgment of his majesty." Usually the great prayers of the church begin with an ascription that focuses our attention upon some attribute of God, or some historical act of his. "Almighty and most merciful Father"-every word a concept, including that momentous "and"! "Almighty God, who hast built thy Church upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets; . . . didst endue thine apostles with the gifts of the Holy Spirit; hast made of one blood all nations of men; hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee."

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The Primacy of Faith. The Macmillan Company, 1943, p. 159.

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The New Testament always speaks of this kind of knowledge in the highest terms. The theologian has no right to surrender it as knowledge in the interests of an inadequate theory of knowledge. Yet it is not the theoretical certainty of mathematical knowledge, and the man of faith has no right to claim that kind of certainty for it. It is not established by rational argument or by inductive logic. This supreme truth has a high price: the saving faith that commits our all to the God of mercy. Christian conviction is not theoretical certainty but personal trust.

The churches have been ambiguous at just this point. They have held to their high conception of assurance with one breath, and in the next breath they have talked as though intellectual certainty were the basis of conviction, as though the Christian had a compelling argument which would convince any man if he were not perverted by sin, in short, as though faith rested on reason instead of in God. They have gone farther. They have laid claim to a vast body of doctrine as infallible truth, and have failed to see how their own relativities in history and in society have found refuge under the cloak of divine revelation. It is this pretense to theoretic certainty which airily by-passes the researches of the scientist and the historian, that has given offense to those who must labor for their truth under the strictest disciplines.

But the church has gone still farther. Faith for the Roman Catholic is not a trust in the saving mercies of God. It is the acceptance of the whole, intricate body of dogma upon the authority of the Church. It was for this reason that faith has never been regarded by Roman theologians as sufficient for salvation. It must be completed by love. But countless Protestants have made a similar mistake. Faith means the acceptance of the entire body of Scripture. It is faith in the word spoken, rather than trust in him who has spoken. This proud and sinful pretension, whether of Roman or Protestant, has been the ground of religious persecution, of intellectual obscurantism, of the alienation of countless thoughtful people from the church, and the consequent loss of redeeming influence which the church might have exercised in human affairs.

This position of intellectual uncertainty is precarious in precisely the same sense that salvation by faith is morally precarious. To the man whose confidence must rest in himself both positions are untenable. But to the man whose faith is in Jesus Christ, the one is no more cause for fear than the other. By his very faith he recognizes his own finitude and sin. He gladly recognizes the humility of science and the modesty

of the man of science, as particularly apt illustrations of that recognition of finitude to which faith should lead. He does not aspire to certainties that belong to God alone, any more than he pretends to a righteousness that is not yet his. He is content to let God be God indeed.

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In the world of natural fact the theologian is subject to all the conditions of logic. In the realm of grace the philosopher can claim no special privilege by reason of his learning. But how shall we relate the world of grace and the world of history, the realm of faith and the realm of scientific fact? This is the central question for every generation and is the equivalent of the question: how shall we live in this world? For this central business both philosopher of religion and theologian are indispensable. The philosopher needs the firsthand knowledge of grace, if only to expand his horizons. The theologian needs the questions and the criticisms of the philosopher. He will have them, whether he wants them or not! To surrender knowledge to the philosopher means deserting our culture and making of the Christian faith an esoteric irrelevance. This is betrayal.

"The Russian Idea"

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

BERDYAEV'S religious and philosophical studies have long been a source of inspiration and illumination to the Christian world far beyond the confines of Eastern Orthodoxy. Indeed his thought did not belong to Orthodoxy in the strict sense, since it was strongly influenced on the one hand by the mysticism of Jacob Boehme and on the other hand by various strains of western thought, including Marxism. In this posthumously published work he makes a final survey of Russian religious thought, particularly in the past two centuries, relating the various tendencies to their Orthodox source, to the romantic and Hegelian influences which infiltrated from the west, to his own thought, and finally to modern communism.

It must be regretfully recorded that little of what is creative and life-giving in the thought of Berdyaev is emphasized in this work, while its primary weakness is exposed to the full light of day. For "The Russian Idea," which Berdyaev analyzes, is nothing else than Russian messianism, the perennially recurring notion that Russia is in a special way a holy nation and is destined to bring the final Christian truth and the final form of the Christian community to the world. Such a notion ought to be regarded as a priori heretical by any sound Christian theology, whether Catholic or Protestant, whether Latin or Greek. It contains the hybris of a nation against which the prophets of the Old Testament spoke and which was overcome in principle in the New Testament, the faith of which apprehends a Messiah who vindicates no nation, whose kingdom brings all historic principalities and powers under his judgment, and whose redemption represents the transfiguration of all historical reality.

Berdyaev is not unconscious of some of the contradictions in which this messianism is involved. Speaking of the messianic thought of Khomyakov, he declares that there is a contradiction in it which "belongs to all forms of messianism. The vocation of Russia is connected with the fact that the Russian people are the most humble people in the world but at the same time this people must rule the world." He admits.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, D.D., LL.D., ecumenical leader and Professor of Applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, gives us a critique of the great Russian thinker's last work. The book under review is Nicholas Berdyaev's *The Russian Idea*, The Macmillan Company, 1948 (pp. 255, \$2.75).

too, that sometimes the messianism is but the expression of an uneasy conscience. The admission of Russia's spiritual failure in the past is the main-spring of an extravagant hope that Russia will bring salvation to all the nations.

Berdyaev does not understand quite so fully that most of the claims of spiritual superiority for Russia are rooted in romantic illusions, and is quite unfair in his estimates of the spirituality of the west, which is consistently described as a spirituality of legalism. In contrast, Russia is supposed to have a purer concept of both freedom and of community. The idealization of absolute freedom in Russian anarchism may be no more than the reaction of men of sensitive conscience to a tyrannical state. It is, incidentally, as characteristic of certain types of rebellious spirituality in Roman Catholic Spain as in Orthodox Russia. It may be truer to attribute a profound conception of community, of sobornost, to Russian spirituality. Berdyaev's evidence may be added to that of many other historians to prove that the Russian soul has never craved for individual freedom after the fashion of western culture. It has lived by the conviction, expressed in the words of one of the messianists, that "knowledge of the truth is bestowed only upon mutual love." It may well be that modern communism is both a corruption and a fulfillment of this Russian sense of community.

But Berdyaev's own evidence shows how full of romantic illusions was the thought of the Slavophils in regard to the relation of freedom and order. "The Slavophils," he declares, "typical romantics in this respect, maintained that life should be based on principles which stand on a higher level than a legal contract. But the denial of legal principles depressed life below the level of legal principles. Guarantees of the rights of personality are not necessary when the relation is one of love but the relationships which exist in human societies bear very small resemblance to the relationship of love."

In other words, a part of the claim of the superiority of Russian spirituality over the west is derived from the illusion that it is possible to dispense with legal safeguards of both order and freedom, so long as perfect love is achieved. This perfect love is not achieved in man's collective relationships; and it is a utopian illusion to expect such a consummation, even as it is a historical illusion to find it in the actual life of Russia, past or present. The freedom and the community which is implied in the Christian love commandment must be at least partially secured by law. When the dimensions of the love commandment are reduced to law they stand partly in contradiction to each other; freedom

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mess poin lated and and and God is always in danger of being devoured by order, and vice versa. The fact that this is so is not due to an error in western spirituality. The Russian messianists, who claimed a spiritual superiority over the west on this point, merely proved themselves romantics who had not thought the problem of the relation of love to law through to its conclusion. In surveying this thought, one has a strong impression that the point of contact between Marxist illusions about community and these Russian religious ideas is much more immediate than is usually assumed. It may explain a good deal about the hold of modern Marxism on the Russian soul.

Berdyaev himself, despite his critical remarks about these various forms of messianism, proves how much he himself is under its illusions by his attitude toward communism. He decides that, despite its corruptions, it fulfills the ideals of Russian messianism more than the older ideas. "It proclaims light from the east," he declares, "which is destined to enlighten the bourgeois darkness of the west. . . . Communism is the Russian destiny. . . . A new spiritual type has come to maturity." How closely this judgment is related to Berdyaev's own nationalistic prejudices are apparent in the words: "Western Christians have no knowledge of that sort of community which belongs to the Russians. . . . Even among Russians who carry on a persecution against the Orthodox faith there remains a stratum in the depth of their souls which is shaped by Orthodoxy. The Russian idea is eschatological. It is shaped to the end; it is this which accounts for Russian maximalism."

There is no doubt many a treasure of grace in Russian spirituality which the West must appropriate. It may well be that the sense of the community is one of these. But if the bourgeois West tends to be too individualistic, it is not likely that grace will be mediated to it by utopian and eschatological concepts which do not understand how easily a community may become even more brutally idolatrous than a self-worshiping individual.

It would be quite wrong to attribute all of this utopianism and messianism to Orthodoxy as such. Berdyaev was himself as heretical as most of the messianists whose thought he analyzes. But there is one point where his illusions about history and redemption may well be related to genuine Orthodoxy. Again and again he criticizes both Roman and Protestant thought for their failure to achieve a true Christology, and therefore an adequate anthropology. "Man ought to become God and to deify himself," he declares, "but he can do this only through the God-man and through God-humanity." He thinks that western Christi-

anity does not take seriously enough the restoration of the image of God in man through Christ. It "teaches almost exclusively that man is a sinner and needs to be taught about salvation."

In other words, this theology emphasizes sanctification to the exclusion of justification. It does not recognize the continuous ambiguity of man's historic existence, even in the life of the redeemed. It glories in the "creativity" of the new man in Christ, but has no guard against the pretension of this new man to be more Christlike than he is. The absurd belief that one nation is closer to the kingdom of God than another, or that a political movement which sacrifices freedom to community is closer to the consummation than one which sacrifices community to freedom, is not unrelated to the original theological error of neglecting the problematic character of all human virtues in all historic situations.

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The Genius of Protestant Worship

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CLARENCE SEIDENSPINNER

MANY OF THE MISTAKES made in our Protestant services result from our failure to understand the genius of Protestant worship. These mistakes are common enough.

On the one hand, we find some services that are nondescript and lifeless. Nothing important seems to happen while the people plod through a series of hymns, prayers, and lections which finally lead to the sermon. Says many a candid person after that kind of a service, "So what?"

On the other hand, we find some services which are meaningless enough, but are supercharged with misdirected energy. Pick up any Saturday newspaper, turn to the church notices for Sunday, and study the entertainment à la mode offered to the people in the name of religious exercise. The ads cry, "HEAR JIMMIE AND HIS MUSICAL MESSENGERS: at 7 p.m. A dramatized sermon with 16 characters and 8 scenes: The Spider and the Fly."

I do not believe that the average intelligent layman wants either one of these services. Certainly he does not want to be bored. Nor does he want to attend a Sunday vaudeville put on the chancel platform of his parish church. He much prefers to be taken to the secret place of the most high God, there to have fellowship and Holy Communion with his Lord. He wants to feel that something tremendously important has happened to him and the worshiping company. He wants that kind of worship described by Jesus, "But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

This is the kind of worship that the Protestant reformers provided. Martin Luther purged the Roman mass in the interest of sincerity. It was too heavily laden with the Roman doctrines of the sacrifice and transubstantiation, with various invocations to Mary and the saints. In light of his changed theological position, Luther could not use the Roman text

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for his own celebration of Holy Communion. Not only did he purge the text, he also set much of it in the German tongue to make it more real.

Along with these reforms in the Holy Communion, Luther also developed a noneucharistic service which presently became the Sunday norm. This became the German Lutheran form of matins. The service was rather plastic, for the principle of freedom which motivated Luther in his liturgical reforms produced variety in the Sunday services. During Bach's time, for example, a whole cantata was often introduced in the midle of the morning service. That is why Bach wrote the number of cantatas that he did. Luther and his followers always felt perfectly free radically to change the old daily offices and to provide a plastic form of matins which was to become the chief service of the day.

The principle of sincerity also operated in Luther's great attention to the meaning of hymns, prayers, and sermon. He changed the old heterogeneous and indifferent Roman congregation into a German congregation aware of its Christian unity and destiny. Luther did this by a new liturgical and psychological polarizer: the hymn, which stated what people really believed. What a superb expression of sincerity such a hymn is, as Luther's "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God." What power it has to unite a congregation in a great and honest affirmation of faith. This principle of sincerity received further expression in the sermon, which Luther conceived as the sacrament of the Word. He had no use for priests who could not preach. Pastors who could do nothing better than mumble through some religious fairy tales were not proper celebrants of the Word. Luther restored the sermon as a liturgical opportunity in which to be honest and effective.

What Luther did, the other reformers did in their own respective ways. They revised the mass radically and developed a free, non-eucharistic worship as the usual Sunday service. Zwingli provided for only a quarterly celebration of the Lord's Supper, and he changed its nature to that of a simple memorial meal. For the other Sundays of the year, Zwingli provided a morning and an afternoon service consisting of psalms, prayers, creed, Bible readings, and a sermon. Calvin's service was similar in its pattern and its austerity. It had nothing of the beauty and earthiness of Luther's service which was always close to the heart and feelings of the people. Witness Luther's use of the hymn, freshly written and set to prevailing sacred and secular folk music. Zwingli and Calvin ruled out the hymn in favor of the psalm. Calvin pitched his service in the direction of the transcendent God. In all of these changes, Zwingli and Calvin were utterly free and sincere.

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Who man past plag In eighteenth-century England, John Wesley continued this tradition. Though he recognized Holy Communion as the central act of worship, he did not treat it as the ordinary act. For ordinary worship, Wesley exercised complete freedom in his chapel services. Sincerity he always sought. Witness the Wesley hymns and sermons with their simplicity, their deep feeling, and their sense of reality.

We may therefore say that the genius of Protestant worship fulfills the saying of Jesus by exemplifying sincerity and freedom in non-eucharistic services as the norm of worship. What does this mean in terms of our public worship today?

Certainly our worship must be sincere. This is what it means to worship God in truth and in reality. This implies that we are honest in what we say and do during the service. Concepts which no longer crystallize the faith by which we live have no place either in pulpit or in pew. Nor ought we to use, in the interest of a false piety, patterns of expression which have been worn down to trite poetic diction and assorted clichés. Of such insincerities the reformers purged the liturgy, and if we are to maintain the Protestant tradition, we must do the same.

Some of our hymns will have to be cut or eliminated. What scriptural or reasonable basis can be found for some of the words we sing to the touching music which accompanies them? What shall be said concerning such words as these?

Out of the ivory palaces Into a world of woe, Only his great eternal love Made my Savior go.¹

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Concerning many of our hymns, we cannot praise even the sentiment, much less the expression. This is particularly true of hymns which droop with heavy exotic imagery or with a tribal mythology which takes one back to the blood baths of the initiants. Is this the way we ought to express ourselves in hymnody?

Oh! precious is the flow That makes me white as snow; No other fount I know, Nothing but the blood of Jesus.

What is true in regard to some of our hymns must also be said about many of our shoddy little anthems, our shameless prayers in which a pastor exposes to public view a bad neurosis of his own, our sermons plagiarized from assorted homiletical helps. To such material we will

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have to apply the scissors. True to the genius of Protestant worship, clergymen and laymen alike must now refuse to compromise with any liturgical material that violates the fundamental canon of sincerity. Concerning a questionable hymn, anthem, or prayer, the question ought to be asked, "Does this ring true?"

Contrast this kind of liturgical expression with the superb creations of people who get a good hold upon fundamental truth and express it in timeless or in contemporary fashion. Think of the sermons of preachers who seek to interpret God's will in terms of contemporary personal and social problems. We listen to the preaching of men like Harry Emerson Fosdick, Ralph Sockman, and Ernest Fremont Tittle because such men honestly strive to think of the relation of religion to every area of personal and social need. In clear, direct, and simple speech they drive straight to the heart of the matter.

Think of the prayers which come to vigorous life. The Lord's Prayer is an outstanding example. Because it crystallizes abiding human experience in simple, timeless language, the Lord's Prayer will never become outworn. Nor will such a prayer grow old as that one from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, "Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplication unto thee" Just as vital are certain prayers couched in the modern idiom, prayers which reverently arise from the human spirit placed in all sorts of social conditions, prayers like those of the Social Awakening by Walter Rauschenbusch.

Think of the hymns that live today because they are in the authentic Protestant tradition of sincerity: old hymns like the "Gloria Patri" and the "Sanctus"; new hymns like Fosdick's "God of Grace and God of Glory" and Ozora Davis' "At Length There Dawns the Glorious Day, by Prophets Long Foretold."

Think, too, of those anthems which, because of their textual and musical integrity, have the power to reflect our deepest religious experience. There are old canticles which are always as new as today's dawn: the Te Deum laudamus and the Nunc Dimittis. There are various settings of the beautiful old "Cherubic Hymn" from the Eastern Liturgy, modern settings by Glinka, Bortniansky, Gretchaninoff and others. There are such thoroughly contemporary anthems with modern musical harmonies and dissonances as the one by Henry Hallstrom which deals with the deepest longing of the human spirit today.

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All of this is involved in the principle of sincerity. Consider also the matter of freedom. Protestant worship is free worship, the kind of religious exercise fulfilled in Jesus' admonition to worship God in spirit.

Here, again, the reformers set the pace by arranging their services according to the needs, interests, and beliefs of their people. Unfortunately, many of their disciples fail to perceive this fundamental principle of freedom. If the truth must be told, much Protestant worship today is more formal than a Roman Mass. Go to Mass and observe. Watch the informality of the people who by no means do everything simultaneously. Many engage in their own private devotions while the clergy are saying their prayers at the altar. In her recent book, France Alive, Claire Bishop describes the great informality of the French clergy who celebrate Mass today in kitchens, shops, workrooms, and other places apart from the church. Apparently formal, Rome allows many variations from the normal celebration.

Try to exercise such freedom in many a Protestant church! Try to introduce a written prayer in a tabernacle service. Try to change the order of service a little in the average Presbyterian church. Try to gown a man who has always worn a cutaway. Actually, we are more formal and less free than we realize.

Nevertheless, a vital Protestant worship is a free worship. Free worship means a liturgy that meets the needs of a given parish church. There is no single pattern of worship that is suitable for every Protestant church in the United States. There are many good sound designs for worship. Each parish must discover the particular liturgical patterns that are suitable to it and then use them faithfully.

One of the most popular designs for worship is the fivefold pattern first clarified by Von Ogden Vogt in his book, Art and Religion. It leads the worshiper through the mystical experience of Isaiah, as he moves from presentation to confession, to the vitality which comes from absolution, then to illumination, and finally to dedication. As many churches have already discovered, this is a good and sound order of service. An-

² By permission of The H. W. Gray Company, Inc., 159 East 48th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

other pattern is the fourfold design outlined in the Book of Worship recently published by The Methodist Church. This design is based upon the adoration of God, the confession of sin, the affirmation of faith, and the dedication of life. Because it forms the basis of the service outlined in the Methodist Book of Worship, it, too, is widely used. A simple and more streamlined design is outlined in the book, Form and Freedom in Worship. It takes the worshiper through three familiar experiences in his worship of God: adoration, communion, and dedication. Still another tripartite design is offered by Dean Sperry in his book, Reality in Worship. It is based upon the old Hegelian pattern of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Here are four sound designs for worship which form the basis of many services in American Protestantism today.

Free worship also means a liturgy that includes all kinds of vital material, biblical and extrabiblical. Hymns, prayers, and lections which express what needs to be expressed ought freely to be used. There is no need for any parish church to confine its choice of liturgical materials to the devotional antiquities which have accrued through the centuries. Let ancient and modern materials freely be used in order that the vital word may be spoken at the right moment. This means freedom in the pulpit, too, as well as at the altar or lectern. If religion is the celebration of life in its entirety, then any area of human experience that can be illuminated by the insights of religion may freely be discussed in the pulpit. Such freedom will give great vitality, fine spontaneity, and a wonderful sense of immediacy to our Protestant preaching. If religion is going to come alive for many people, we must give more than lip service to that fundamental principle.

Free worship means freedom for the clergy to behave as they should behave during divine worship. This behavior is called the ceremonial of worship. Many pastors are now afraid to recognize the holy table as the symbol of God's presence. They would like to do this, but are diffident about it. Consequently, they face the congregation for the entire service and do not express ceremonially the reverence which they feel for God. They need to understand that the presence of altar, pulpit, and lectern call for certain amenities. These behavior patterns are based upon the good sense at the heart of symbolism and ceremonial. A minister faces the altar for the great acts of adoration, confession, presentation, and dedication. He faces the people for instruction of various kinds and often for certain forms of united expression, such as the Lord's Prayer,

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alik apse men and for the benediction. It is a sound Protestant principle that a minister needs to be free to behave in the chancel according to the reasonable requirements of the hour. In this way the whole service comes alive through the dramatic action of celebrant and people.

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In this Protestant tradition, the laity as well as the clergy will need to be informed. It is my own judgment that when Protestant ministers become informed in regard to the public worship which they celebrate, the laymen will also become informed. The least and the best that a minister can do is to provide a carefully ordered service full of honest, warm, and vital liturgical materials and to celebrate that service with the deepest sense of reality he possesses. If that kind of a service is ordered week after week, laymen will soon discover the difference between freedom and license in worship. If a minister will add to that example specific teaching about Protestant worship in the sermon, the church school, the youth groups, the choir, the chancel committee or altar guild, and in conversation, he will soon develop a congregation informed about the genius of the worship through which they commune with God.

When such understanding has been reached, then congregations will also discover that free worship means freedom to build and to use the kind of a building in which a given parish can worship best. No congregations need be terrorized into building a Gothic church because of a prevailing opinion that the Gothic form is the inevitable form of architecture for a church. Not at all. Neither French Gothic nor American Gothic is the last word in church architecture. These are good forms, to be sure, and some congregations will want to build after this manner. Other congregations, however, will want to build in steel, glass brick, and poured concrete, after the manner of the Loyola University Chapel of Chicago, the El Temple de Purisima of Monterrey, St. Mark's Episcopal Church of St. Louis, or St. Mark's Church in Burlington, Vermont. Other congregations will want to build in simple colonial form, or after the Byzantine manner like Christ Church in New York. Much depends upon local building materials, the local terrain, the location of the church in the city, and the general parish interests.

Architectural freedom also means freedom in the chancel arrangements. It will be a melancholy day when all Protestant churches look alike with an impeccably divided chancel: altar in the rear center of the apse, pulpit and lectern on either side. There are many possible arrangements of the chancel and each parish will know what it needs at this

point. A few churches will want a touch of the Eastern Church, such as the charming chancel of St. Luke's Methodist Church of Dubuque. Many churches will want to provide a true pulpit in front center, with a suitably proportioned and decorated holy table directly below and in front of it. Freedom at this point is quite in order.

Here, then, is the genius of Protestant worship in those twin pillars of freedom and sincerity. Let those who prepare and lead the service of divine worship labor to bring religion to honest, vigorous, and beautiful expression. Let those who come to worship do so in spirit and in truth. Then divine worship will be a mighty means of grace in the communion of God with mankind.

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Contemporary Education and Sir Richard Livingstone

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HERBERT EAST RICHARDS

As the Hand wrote warnings on the crumbling walls of Belshazzar's court, Sir Richard Livingstone's hand is writing admonitions on the weakened walls of contemporary education, turning the scriptural phrase: "Tekel; Thou art weighed in the balances and found waning."

Sir Richard Livingstone, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, onetime President of the Educational Section of the British Association, observes that in education our supreme need is for standards which transcend mere habits or practical customs, which are established on the secure foundation of conviction as part of a philosophy of life, and which are discoverable in the distilled essence of world classical culture.

If one were to appreciate the noblest Greek relation to life as a standard with which he could compare the contemporary, he would understand "the world not as an Englishman or a Frenchman or a German or a Russian but as a human being." a self-determined, disciplined human being, whose judgment, principles, and works have the perpetual newness described by Plutarch: "There is a sort of bloom of newness upon these works of his, preserving them from the touch of time."

Progress and light do not come from gathering facts or by having experiences, unless there is a concomitant illumination of the wisdom of virtue and value in the splendor of which additional facts and knowledge can be judged. To the educational blackout caused by unprincipled world knowledge, Greece comes not without light. In truth, the goodness and the "spiritual life of Europe, its civilisation in the full and deep sense of the word, comes from two sources, and only two, Greece, and Palestine," and education, wrote Plato, is "training to goodness from youth."

Livingstone, R. W., The Classics and National Life. Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 13.

² Livingstone, R. W., The Future in Education. Cambridge University Press, 1944, p. 111.
³ Plato, Laws, p. 643. Quoted in Livingstone, R. W., Plato and Modern Education. Cambridge University Press, 1944, p. 9.

HERBERT EAST RICHARDS, M.A., B.D., is Associate Professor of the Christian Criticism of Life, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey. He describes the well-known British educator as pointing out clearly the issue: "Project or Probity?"

1

Sir Richard Winn Livingstone, M.A., was created Knight in 1931. He holds the Honorary Doctor of Literature degree from Belfast, Toronto, Durham, Manchester; and the Honorary Doctor of Laws degree from St. Andrews and Dublin University. He is the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and since 1933 has served as President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Now sixty-eight years old, President Livingstone's intellectual vitality continues with force and depth. From 1917 to 1918 he served as temporary Assistant Master at Eton College; 1929 to 1933, as Vice-Chancellor of the Queens University, Belfast; 1935 to 1937, as chairman of the council of St. Hugh's College, Oxford.

In 1936 he was elected President of the Educational Section of the British Association, in 1938 he became President of the Hellenic Society, and in 1940 the Classical Association made him its President.

As author, editor, and contributor in numerous publications, Dr. Livingstone, the classicist, has had important and fortunate influence. As college and university leader, Dr. Livingstone, the teacher, has been a moving spirit in British education.

One of the distinct impressions one receives as he reads Dr. Livingstone's writing is his lack of parochialism. He is a "citizen of the world," with world-wide vision, and world-wide understanding. Although many of his analyses and parables are taken from British life, the American reader is impressed with the fact that they fit his non-British culture and tradition. Sir Richard faces the world without national and environmental blinkers. Take, for example, his article entitled "April the First," written to call attention to a law that Livingstone considered a milestone in British educational policy. In the course of his discussion of the local details he writes: "St. Paul justly remarked: 'there are diversities of gifts but the same spirit. To each one is given the manifestation of the spirit to profit withal.' (This, I suppose, is the biblical way of expressing 'parity of esteem'—a less happy phrase.) What St. Paul says is true of education as well as life." 4 What Livingstone here observes for Britain is true for all nations and cultures of the world.

Of enduring significance is his philosophy of education manifest in many of his books and articles. His point of view is crystallized in A Defence of Classical Education, 1917; The Classics and National Life,

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^{4 &}quot;April the First," in The Spectator. London, March 30, 1945, p. 286.

1941; The Future in Education, 1941; and Education for a World Adrift, 1943. In 1944 the last two books were combined in one volume under the title On Education. The Rede Lecture was printed in 1944 as Plato and Modern Education.

Since we in America, as the British, owe much to the glory that was Athens and the religion that was Jerusalem, we must cherish and profit by the culture so fathered. It is true that we English-speaking people across the Atlantic have what Dean Gildersleeve calls the "American essence," with its distinctive leaders; but "It is interesting to note that Sir Richard quotes with deep admiration the greatest of these, Lincoln, and that in ways of social and political advance towards an ideal, the English and the Americans are coming closer together." ⁵

Sir Richard Livingstone's position in respect of education has done much good in Britain and his message is one that may be ignored in our land to our peril.

II

Among the seductive overemphases undermining our institutions is crass pragmatism, a gust of the wind of Rousseau, which loses sight not alone of the principles but of the very aim of education. Education is directed toward the spiritual as well as the material, or as Jacques Maritain, who has borrowed from Aristotle, says, it is directed toward personality as well as individuality. "The final goal of education is not the capacity to earn one's bread or to live in a community, though these are included in it, but the making of human beings. Body, character, and, in the widest sense, reason make the man." Since character is based on control, what Irving Babbitt called the frein vital, man cannot have too much of scientific knowledge, he cannot have too much of material resources, material power—if only he remains their master, if at each moment he can say of them, "I possess them, not they me."

Not that an active learner is undesirable, not that a child's creative activity should be diminished, not that education is to be divorced from living; in fact, Livingstone affirms the vital principle "that it is not profit-

⁵ Gildersleeve, Virginia C., Foreword in On Education. Cambridge University Press (New York), 1944, p. 3.

⁶ See Maritain, Jacques, Education at the Crossroads. Yale University Press, 1943, p. 9.

⁷ Livingstone, R. W., article in School and Society. Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press, Vol. 44 (Nov., 14, 1936), p. 625.

^{8 &}quot;Greek Ideals in Modern Civilization," in The Yale Review. Yale University Press, Vol. XXIV (1935), p. 772.

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able to study theory without some practical experience of the facts to which it relates." He analogizes that the mind is like a garden and education "scatters ideas and information on the surface of the mind; much perishes forgotten, but some seeds lie dormant till the quickening power of experience brings them to life." He agrees with Professor Whitehead that "Education with inert ideas is not only useless; it is, above all things, harmful," the protests sharply against any effort to make experience the metaphysical criterion of Truth, and against any proposition that declares that man in his moment of decision between love and hate, truth and falsehood, freedom and slavery, life and death, is the victim of subjective preferences. If pragmatism is taken as a metaphysic, one cannot rise above contemporary society, great truths of the past melt before the magnesium heat of the present, and even God becomes a fact only as an experienced phenomenon.

If God exists only because we experience God, if we have only the religious and no religion, what a vacillating God and religion our God and religion must be! Sir Richard declares flatly that he does not believe our educational needs can be fully met except through religion.¹² Further, if there is any validity in Dewey's doctrine that true education "comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situation in which he finds himself," ¹⁸ we must rewrite John 1:1 to read: "In the beginning was, not the Word, but the Situation." ¹⁴

Christianity and Hellenism, these are the sole sources of the spiritual civilisation of Europe. It is just the soul which is missing in our age—there is nothing wrong with its body—and I suggest that its absence or its weakness is due to the absence or weakness in our education of these influences that fed and fostered it—Christianity and Hellenism.¹⁸

It is not enough for educators to assure students a share of the world's experiences; they must be certain that these experiences are the noblest and best the world has to offer. This cannot be done simply by permitting the child to unravel himself, hoping that he will emerge one of God's noblemen. Lorelei-like, the appeal of popular whims will draw his attention and he will make a project of some contemporary caprice long

⁹ The Future in Education, p. 7.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 30.

¹² Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁸ Dewey, John, Education Today. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940, p. 3.

¹⁴ Livingstone, R. W., Plate and Modern Education, pp. 16-17.

¹⁸ The Future in Education, pp. 111-112.

before his mind has had opportunity to mature—to which enterprise he will be loyally attentive until another whim directs him to a new attention-demanding project. His vacillation creates in him anguished thoughts not unlike those of Gonzalo in *The Tempest*, who cried: "Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground."

It is unquestionable that the child is an important factor in education, but equally unquestionable is the importance of the educational goal; and only when these emphases balance does sound education exist. The educator who concentrates on one to the exclusion of the other offers the kiss of Judas to those whom he seeks to serve. The cross-fertilization of theory and experience is essential; "It is not enough to be able to do right, unless we know right; and this knowledge is part of character." 16 Moreover, the teacher's moral authority and positive guidance are vital in keeping the goal in clear focus. Our present isolationist educational policy in which "we lead a life of action without thought; or we think in a vacuum, without contact with the realities and problems of the world," 17 needs immediate adjustment in theory and achievement, in particular in respect of adult education, that it may become a liberal education in the Greek meaning of the word. The word "liberal," "belonging to a free man," denotes an ideal that is not antiquated; and had it been understood more significantly, our views of education today would be less confused. Fortunately, the free man, who has an opportunity to develop the faculties of human nature, is not artificially restricted by educational snobbery.

Against those who may be convinced that cultural subjects, without which there can be no intelligent idea either of the universe or of the greatness of the human spirit, are unsuitable for the majority of the voting population, Livingstone argues that if they are correct, we must "either abandon democracy or resign ourselves to be governed by an electorate which can never know what a state should be." ¹⁸ If this classical fulfillment is not made available, the bad film and the pulp news will join with prejudice and passion to become the master of men.

Men take a master—and without social training or training in the habit of citizenship a bad master may be accepted. Some civilized men have taken Justice as their master to their advantage and advancement. "For in accepting law, men disregard private prejudices and preferences, to serve voluntarily a master called Justice, who is the independent voice

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¹⁶ Education for a World Adrift. Cambridge University Press, 1944, p. 42.

¹⁷ The Future in Education, p. 39.

¹⁸ Article cited in School and Society, Vol. 44, p. 626.

of reason, that judge and litigant alike obey." ¹⁹ Some men have taken religion, art, politics, or money as their master and serve as loyal disciples for the advancement of the spiritual kingdom of which they are citizens. Others are drifting, masterless men, Peer Gynts of society, who speak much of their pseudo democracy, who wander aimlessly according to project or whimsical life-experience; and it is in reaction against these that Hitlers and dictatorships arise. Extreme masters breed extreme reactions.

To this danger humanistic studies with the ideals, visions, and adventures of mankind are the principle antidote. "The lesson of these studies is Sursum corda: they are a perpetual rebuke to the feeble vision and the failing faith from which all men suffer, and to the self-contented spiritual mediocrity which is the special danger of democracy." 20 Dr. Livingstone frequently writes of the meaning, and the meaning of the meaning, of areté or "excellence," the goal of the human being-which to the Greeks was thought (Heraclitus), contemplation (Anaxagoras), reason (Plato), but which to St. Paul was love, an areté available to all, a fulfilled and new humanism. "In making Love the supreme areté of man, Christianity substitutes a democratic spiritual ideal for one which was aristocratic. . . . Thereby it both reached the many whom Hellenism had left in the cold, and enriched and completed the life which Hellenism had given the few." 21 Our goal must be the consummation of the firstrate human being, it can be nothing less because any other goal is an imperfect object and unworthy of our effort. There are those who too soon have scoffed at the Wesleyan disciplinary question: "Are you going on to perfection?" Their laughter resounds deep in the chambers of holy writ where one reads the words of Christ: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Man, by the grace of God, has a perfection of his own that must be sought. "Nothing-not all the knowledge in the world—educates like the vision of greatness, and nothing can take its place." 22

In spite of an athlete's training, co-operative spirit, and technique of play in the olympic of life, he is totally ineffective if he does not direct

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^{19 &}quot;Education and the Training of Character," in The Atlantic Monthly. Boston, Vol. 178, No. 1. (July, 1946), p. 85.

²⁰ Article cited in School and Society, loc. cit.

^{21 &}quot;Christianity and Hellenism," in The Hibbert Journal. London: Constable and Company, Ltd.,

^{22 &}quot;Education for the Modern World," in The Atlansic Monthly. Boston, Vol. 178, No. 5 (Nov., 1946), p. 78.

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his efforts toward the scoring goal; worse yet, in unfortunate self-expressed ignorance he may move in the wrong direction with courage, skill, and ruinous success.

To put it another way, cherished freedom may be sacrificed at the altar of naïveté unless the child or adult is guided in a positive way toward the fulfillment of a complete human being. The complete human being is one who has a balanced development of body, mind, and character, and whose liberal education "is to make the most of all three . . . not because a sound body, mind, and character help to success, or even because they help to happiness, but because they are good things in themselves, and because what is good is worth while simply because it is good." ²³

This is not to ignore the task of learning to earn a living, but of what value is a living to a man who does not know how to live? As Aristotle remarked, "in education it makes all the difference why a man does or learns anything; if he studies it for the sake of his own development or with a view to excellence it is liberal." ²⁴

The apostles of flux are placing our children at the entrance to a shifting labyrinth, demanding that they seek their own way and that they acquire knowledge of that of which they do not realize they are ignorant, trusting that by some freak of amassing illiteracy they will educe a method for avoiding the Minotaur of intellectual, moral, and spiritual catastrophe. In the forceful style of Dr. Lynn Harold Hough: "You cannot make the world Christian by denying the truth of classical Christianity." ²⁸ The child or adult who cannot believe in Truth has stripped value from history, politics, science, literature, and religion as compelling forces in the educational process, leaving nothing but the outer garments of perfected method and grotesque instrumentality. "But since man can not live without values and norms, this relativism makes him an easy prey for irrational systems. He reverts to a position which the Greek Enlightenment, Christianity, the Renaissance, and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment have already overcome." ²⁶

Moreover, by virtue of fundamental instrumentalism, Truth cannot be appealed to at the focus crucis, since to the instrumentalist Truth is not

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²⁸ The Future in Education, p. 70.

²⁴ Aristotle, Politics. VIII, 2, 6.

²⁵ Hough, Lynn Harold, "Anarchy or Creative Loyalty," in The Drew Gateway. Madison, New Jersey, Winter, 1945, p. 29.

²⁶ Fromm, Erich, Man For Himself, An Inquiry Into the Psychology of Ethics. Rinchart and Company, 1947, p. 5.

a standard of judgment, but an experienced product. The eternal sun is eclipsed and illumination of the way is assumed by the flickering flame of the contemporary. When will men learn that contortions of the mind, even the most active mind performing magnificent contortions, cannot be substituted for what is classically Christian? How long will it take for men to realize that the noblest contemporary experience occurring amidst the most exalted surroundings cannot be substituted for classical Christian Truth? It is gratifying to read in the Harvard Report that one of the educational aims must be to break the strangle hold of the present on the mind. A civilization is not judged solely by its economics, science, or sociology, but also by its ideals, standards, moral judgments, and religion.

III

Dr. Livingstone repeats, and repeats again, that the decline of spiritual values must be stayed by a return to the humanities, ancient and modern history, literature, philosophy, and politics, bringing the experience of the ages to the experience of the moment, embodying values as well as facts. Hellenism and Christianity, co-warriors for values, serve to control man's brilliant scientific advance, to keep the world from perfecting an intriguingly intricate and self-destructive barbarism. The crisis which Plato had to face "closely resembles our own, both in its causes and its phenomena. In brief it was a crisis of a civilisation, whose traditional beliefs had been destroyed by scientific thought, and whose fabric had been still further shattered by a great war." In a world devoid of standards, the more freedom granted men the greater the potential for error. The danger to a nation without standards increases proportionately as it broadens its democracy. Law without freedom is tyranny, freedom without law is anarchy; a balance of these is democracy. "Plate saw what we ignore, not only that education is the basis of the state, but that the ultimate aim and essence of education is the training of characterto be achieved by the discipline of the body, the will, and the intelligence." 28

Our generation, which might be called "The Age Without Standards," must be warmed by the mantle of the classical writers. Matthew Arnold was not primarily concerned with teaching the classics nor with cloistered scholarship, yet without the classics Matthew Arnold would have been a grotesque skeleton of his true self. To him the classics were the source from which flowed the waters that nourished the mind, and

27 Livingstone, R. W., Plato: Selected Passages. Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. xii, xiii.

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^{28 &}quot;Education and the Training of Character," in The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, No. 1, p. 82

though the stream had become polluted he did not consider this a valid argument for avoiding the source. The English leaders, in what Sir Richard calls the "third Greek Renaissance" (the first being the victory of Greek thought over Rome, the second being the revival in the Middle Ages), include Jowett, Inge, Shelley, Matthew Arnold, Gladstone, Mill, and contemporaries T. S. Eliot and Professor Whitehead. Without the Greek classics these men would be barren; without these men a generation in England would be impoverished.

Because fundamentally "the political problem is a problem of human character," ²⁹ liberty and reason have been kept alive by Hellenism. Plato, living in a world where women were neither free nor educated, advocated equal educational opportunities for both sexes; yet to this day in far too many areas of the world women are still deprived of the opportunity of having trained minds. He advised further that education be made compulsory, yet men of culture in the twentieth century are chagrined by coming face to face with countless illiterates. Ironically, literate and illiterate share the burden of modern arms.

Moreover, Hellenism has kept alive more than specific truths; it has perpetuated a coherent pattern, a well-ordered culture for human beings, capable of serving as a standard of criticism for new thought and successive human experience, not as a substitute for the present, but as a dependable source by which the present can be judged. In all this Hellenism makes certain for us that our belief in beauty and truth will not be sabotaged by doubts of the good.

Educators increasingly must become aware of the importance of this pattern. Isolationism in education, as in politics, is traitorous to the best that is in man. To study science without acknowledging its place in the total pattern of life, to detail the stream of historical events and world leaders without evaluating the events and men in respect of the larger pattern, to read and recite the world's literary masterpieces without relating them to the great movements in life is to commit the error of intellectual segregation. Man, too, must be viewed as humanism views him, with all "the forces and ideas that have governed man, personal, religious, or political; to see why he has rejected this and espoused that, why this failed and that was successful, what are liberty and religion, family affection and personal greed, and, in a word, to study man." ³⁰

Are we giving students competent tools with which to build a baga-

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²⁹ Ibid., p. 81.

³⁰ The Future in Education, pp. 73-74.

telle? Is there no purpose for all this skill, no end in view, with these exquisite and mighty means at hand? The keener the instrument the greater the need for studies whose subject is knowledge of right and wrong, good and evil.

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One finds it difficult to believe that it is possible to obtain a degree as an educated man with complete and sublime ignorance of any subjects that raise questions as to the good life. An erudite man is not predestined to become a good man; in fact, his skills misused may easily lead him to become a genius of corruption. Education, therefore, must go beyond shaping intelligence to affecting the will, and here religion assumes its rightful place in the educational pattern. Paraphrasing Ruskin, education is not alone designed to teach people to know what they do not know, but is also to teach them to behave as they do not behave.

IV

Of the numerous hindrances impeding the movement toward the acceptance of standards, Dr. Livingstone holds that none is more puissant nor more dangerous than the examination system. Not that a test of progress is valueless, but at the moment a student finds it necessary to scheme in order to pass an examination, the whole process of learning is demoralized. There is little doubt that some information is learned in pre-examination flurries, but the toxin of test-obsession spreads through the student until the real purpose of education is lost in the wretched scramble to achieve an acceptable grade or rank. The literary masters are studied not as a means to a better life, but as required hurdles to be cleared at maximum speed. In this race for a false rating the very purpose of education is lost, standards are subordinated to expediency, and the student is the loser.

A second hindrance is the principle of specialization that limits interests and evades the fact that the noblest of all studies, that which deals with man and the life he should live, cannot be cast into a ghetto of secondary schooling nor confined to any single level of education. When, by a process of election, one can obtain a specialized training without analyzing his purpose, when a skill can be obtained without a single course which deals with values, the very skill can become the instrument for satanic purpose.

As long as specialization is fondled by educators, just so long the misuse of good things through ignorance of principles will be a scourge on mankind. We assume too often that standards, values, and ideals can be relegated to a period in education development.

This disastrous practice has actually been erected into a principle by Professor Dewey, whose influence on American education has been great and in some ways unfortunate, and who urges "the demarcation of secondary work as the period of general training and culture, thus making it the period of the knowledge of self in relation to the larger meanings of life; and the reservation of the higher institution for specific training, for gaining controls of the particular body of knowledge and methods of research which fit the individual to apply truth to the guidance of his own special calling in life.³¹

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The world is waiting for the re-enthronement of the philosophy of life which, born in Greece, nurtured and fulfilled by Christianity, has been the strength and noble hope of Western civilization.

Can it be denied that the world is undergoing a metamorphosis—a change so titanic that many who are accustomed to seeing small trends fail to recognize the great transformation? The pressing for equality of opportunity, for adequate supply of necessities of life, comes as a result of education stimulating the use of reason and causing the human to cry out against forced inequality. However, to cry is insufficient, to cast off customs and codes is inadequate; men of reason are obligated to make certain that the destroyed customs and standards are replaced by better and more noble traditions and values.

The revolution is not confined to the realms of economics and politics. The world of the spirit is erupting and traditions, sacred as guiding stars of Western civilization, are being questioned and scorned. Approvingly, we examine Whitehead's statement that "moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness," 32 but we approve it in the light of the realization that virtues are acquired by practicing them. By turning to that which is first-rate in human life and character, great literature, one will receive not alone the vision of a noble world and life but also the urge to emulate it.

Education for standards has no date line, it performs no intellectual hara-kiri with elaborate ritual called graduation; and because of this ever-increasing demand for training, Dr. Livingstone neatly presents his strong brief for a more adequate system of adult education.

Sound economics and scientific prowess will not assure a noble civilization; swinish minds can live in magnificent dwellings. Plato said: "Or do you imagine that constitutions grow upon a tree or rock, instead of springing out of the moral dispositions of the members of each state, ac-

³¹ Education for a World Adrift. Cambridge University Press, 1944, pp. 129-30. (The quotation from Professor Dewey is taken from Education Today, p. 52.)

³² Ibid., p. 50. (The quotation from Professor Whitehead is taken from The Aims of Education, p. 106.)

cording as this or that disposition turns the scale as it were, and drags everything else in its wake?" Bemocracy must be girded with spiritual forces for its safety as well as the safety of mankind, instead of relying on decent habits which are remnants of an age when a Christian philosophy of life was on the throne in men's minds and hearts. Again Dr. Hough declares: "Only as the spread of democracy means the increase of free men who use their liberty to choose the true instead of the false, the abiding instead of the fleeting, the good instead of the evil, is democracy justified by its children." Although "religious instruction is not education in religion but an opportunity for it," a nation cannot long spurn Christian beliefs and retain Christian morals.

What does all this mean? To Sir Richard Livingstone it means that democratic education with its cross-fertilization of theory and experience must give an accurate picture of what human beings can be; it must encourage more serious thought about the good life and must pay as much attention to values as to facts. With these suggestions in mind progress can be hoped for, better education can be achieved, and Belshazzar's fate can be avoided.

88 Plato, The Republic, Davies-Vaughan Translation, 544-

35 Livingstone, R. W., "April the First," in The Spectator, p. 286.

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³⁴ Hough, Lynn Harold, "The Crisis in Education," in The Drew Gateway. Spring, 1945, p. 42.

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Under the Aspect of Eternity

NEAL W. KLAUSNER

THE YEAR 1492 is a date few students are likely to forget. In this year began an adventure of exploration and discovery whose consequences are immeasurable. A new world was found because the Queen of Spain looked with favor upon a courageous seaman. If her action deserves acclaim and merit, it can scarcely atone for another act so grievous, so brutal, so stupid, that its results in human suffering are incalculable and unutterably shameful.

For over 1,600 years the Jews had lived and flourished in Spain. There they had the synagogue; there they read the Talmud; there they kept faithfully to their sacred traditions and beliefs. Then came that black and hated day—March 31, 1492. An edict from the King and Queen compelled all Jews to make a terrible decision. They must become Christians or leave the country. Now begins a story of tragedy and pain matched only by one of more recent days. The Inquisition was under way. If a Jew refused to join the Church his property was confiscated, he had to leave the country with no place to go and no way of getting to sanctuary. If he became a Christian, he was persecuted as a heretic. Portugal was not too far, and many escaped, making another try for freedom. But the King of Portugal married Isabella's daughter; and with her came the Inquisition again; the lot of this people was incredibly worsened.

Then Holland gained its independence from Spain and the Jews, some of them new Christians, fled there. How they managed this journey, the subterfuge, intrigue, and human bitterness it entailed, is a story of remarkable courage in the annals of the search for liberty. Eventually in this colony was born Baruch Spinoza, later known as Benedict Spinoza, the Latin form of the Hebrew name meaning "blessed."

The Jews who had escaped were now free to return to their customs and ancient religion. Baruch's father became an important elder of the synagogue. Into his family life came a succession of personal griefs and

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sorrow. Two children died, and his three marriages all ended in the death of his wives. Yet there was some comfort for the old Jew. His son showed unusual promise and strange talents for reflection not altogether understood by the father. Baruch grew up in a home dominated by a half-sister. He attended the frightfully dull school in the synagogue with its interminable repetition of Old Testament and Talmud and Hebrew grammar. Curiously enough, the young lad was not intellectually suffocated by the teaching methods of the rabbis but awakened, made eager for more and more, until everyone was aware that Michal Spinoza's son would some day be a leader of great stature in the Jewish community.

Now comes the historical paradox. Having won a measure of freedom, the Jews were unwilling to grant it to their own people. They became rigid in their Hebraism and tolerated no heresy. Their hard-won faith was not to be destroyed by internal dissension. The measures taken against those who dared to think freely were humiliating, disgraceful, and cruel. For example, there was a young man named Uriel Acosta. He was one of those Jews reared a strict Catholic, but he risked the flight to Amsterdam to become a Jew. Soon, however, he began to look with disdain upon the "pharisaism" of the rabbis; he even wrote blasphemous documents assailing the most sacrosanct customs. The wrath of the community fell on him. The leaders of the synagogue threatened him and he repented. As a penance he was forced to endure a humiliating condemnation; to suffer from the lash, and be made to lie on the threshold of the synagogue while the congregation walked over him. Such was the mockery of their liberty. Having severed the bonds forged by others, they enslaved themselves. But the revolting humiliation was too much for Acosta. He went home, turned a pistol on himself, and blew out his brains.

We do not know whether Baruch witnessed this sorry event. He was only eight at the time of its occurrence. Certainly he heard about it, for there were always those who pointed out how misfortune and wretchedness followed impiety. But the young Spinoza was only a schoolboy of whom his father was immensely proud. Was he not quick-witted, yes, even brilliant and diligent? Did he not learn everything with a thoroughness and mastery which sometimes matched or surpassed his teachers? Surely here was the future leader of the Jews in Holland—here was the promise of a rabbi of great distinction. But destiny would not have it so. Spinoza not only learned—he thought, too.

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methods of his tutors, then sharp questions to his elders, then—tread softly, Baruch, remember Acosta and others, too—then the searching penetration of his reason begins to probe the sacred doctrines. He reads outside the periphery of rabbinic lore. What astonishment, what complete captivation! Descartes, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Vesalius, Pascal! Incredibly exciting companions for his intellectual pilgrimage. If these men are writing truth, then something is false in the faith. And destiny has fashioned this man to turn from error and hypocrisy as from a plague or pestilence. Truth above all ties—earthly or heavenly.

The Jewish community was aghast at this apostasy. Every method was tried to bring him back—and all failed. The break became more and more open. Even his family turned maliciously against him. After his father's death his sister and brother-in-law tried to keep his inheritance, and a bitter legal controversy ensued. Spinoza won in the court and then scornfully refused the money—thereby condemning himself to a life of poverty. In the effort to win him back to their faith, the Jews pleaded and wheedled and bribed and threatened. When at last it was clear that he was lost to them, only one more thing remained—excommunication. The writ was drawn up and read to the congregation on July 27, 1656. In part it read:

May the Lord never forgive him. May the Lord cause his anger and jealousy against this man to burn, and visit him with all the curses that are written in the Book of the Law. Let his name be destroyed under heaven, and let him be separated to his destruction from all the tribes of Israel, with everything that is cursed in the Book of the Law. But you, who hold to the Lord your God, we greet you this day. See to it that no one of you address him, either by word of mouth or in writing, let no one of you show him any kindness, let no one of you be under the same roof with him, let no one remain standing within four yards' distance from him, let no one read anything that he has composed or written.¹

Thus was Spinoza cast out. At the age of twenty-four this was his first death—for the Jews thought of him now as one dead. There were only twenty more years left to work out his great genius. Baruch was absent from the synagogue when the writ was read. The faith had rejected him—but he had first rejected the faith. We must not think this was easy for the young man. He was still a Jew. He felt himself bound to the community by the ties of family and history and love. But the tie of truth was not there and this only could hold him.

His life from now on was one of poverty, solitariness, fighting a

¹Quoted by Kuno Fischer in a lecture on "The Life and Character of Baruch Spinoza" in Spinoza, Four Essays, ed. Wm. Knight, Williams & Norgate, 1882, p. 103.

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critical lung disease, but above all—what he really wanted—complete independence and freedom with prolonged meditation. He lived in a small village in a kind of attic room. There he learned to grind and polish lenses and by their sale just managed to keep from starvation. He was loved by the villagers, who were astonished to find that the "atheist," "devil," "monster" was perhaps the gentlest and kindest man then living. The seclusion was broken now and then by visits from the distinguished men of seventeenth-century Europe. Also at times he exchanged long letters with sympathetic scholars. In these are found important aspects of his philosophy. The next twenty years drew him out into the world only upon two or three critical occasions. The passion for independence and freedom of thought found expression in the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, published anonymously in 1670. Here is intellectual integrity at work. Here is another classic of human freedom to be acknowledged by all men who seek release from irrational authority. It brought the bitter winds of controversy upon him and the book was placed on the Index of the Roman Church. But modern scholarship has largely supported him, for in this document Spinoza anticipated the method and conclusions of the so-called Higher Criticism. It is healthy to be reminded of its contents.

The preface contains a critique of the religion of his day, pointing to the presence of unreason, superstition, fear, animosities, and intolerance. Belief in the Bible is often a matter of formal assent and not a living faith. The source of the problem lies in a literal interpretation of the Scripture—as if it were a book about the objects of ordinary knowledge rather than one of spiritual truths. The way out is to re-examine the Scriptures in the light of one's best reason. ". . . . as I marked the fierce controversies of philosophies raging in Church and State, the source of bitter hatreds and dissensions, the ready instruments of sedition and other ills innumerable, I determined to examine the Bible afresh in a careful, impartial and unfettered spirit, making no assumptions concerning it, and attributing to it no doctrines, which I do not find clearly therein set down." ²

These are bold words from a gentle spirit, but they are also the principles of his probity. Everything that is absurd, contrary to reason; whatever contravenes the order of nature, or seems to have been foisted into the sacred books by irreligious hands; all this is *ipso facto* to be rejected. This makes it difficult to accept the accounts of the miracles. In this matter Spinoza shows his insight into fallible human nature. Men,

² Works, Vol. I, Bohn's Library, p. 8.

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he says, tend to color their narration of events by their own judgments and opinions, which have caused them to perceive something quite different from the plain facts. So, in order to interpret the scriptural report of miracles, one must know the opinions of those giving the account, and be able to distinguish the opinions from the facts, else there is confusion of actual events with imaginary ones. Moreover, in order to understand miracles as reported in Scripture one must be familiar with Jewish phrases and metaphors, otherwise one sees miracles where the writer intended nothing of the sort. In every instance Spinoza reinforces his statements by direct reference to the biblical writings.

There is high genuineness in all of this. Spinoza is not flippant, not eager to lessen men's faith, but to deflate those whose pretensions are insincere. Men say the Bible is the Word of God, but they cannot really mean this for they take no pains to live according to the Word. Religion has become discord and propagated hatred. A real religion will be able to distinguish between a worship of the pen-and-ink word and the true Word.

Let us follow Spinoza into the heart of his method and observe its results. Remember the year is 1670!

The interpretation of Scripture, he writes, should follow the same method as the interpretation of nature: an examination of natural phenomena, deducing the unknown from the known, arriving at definitions on certain fixed axioms, etc. One universal rule should be strictly obeyed, namely, to accept nothing as authoritative in Scripture which is not perceived clearly upon examination of its history. This examination involves the following procedures: first, the nature and properties of the language in which the books were written must be known thoroughly; second, there must be an analysis of each book and an arrangement of its contents so as to compare it easily with the same subject matter in other books. Also a record of the ambiguous or obscure passages which seem contradictory should be kept. Third, study of their history includes also a statement of the environment of each book, that is, the life, conduct, and character of the author, the occasion of the writing, the period in which it was written, for whom it was written, and in what language. Fourth, one ought to know the fate of the book, how well it was received, how many versions appeared, how it got into the Bible, on whose advice, and how did the Bible as a whole come to be united? Fifth, have errors crept in by other hands, what corrections have been made, were they made by skilled or inept hands?

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When all of these requirements for accurate scriptural interpretation have been met, there are other specific obstacles to surmount. For instance, one must have a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language which in itself offers peculiar difficulties. Ancient Hebrew has been lost. There are no grammars, no dictionaries. The original meanings of some of the words, nouns and verbs, are not preserved, and therefore phrases and sentences are obscure. Frequently one letter may be mistaken for another. Conjunctions and adverbs have numerous meanings. Moreover, the language itself was lacking in some tenses. Finally, there are no vowels in the original, they have to be supplied, as do the punctuation marks and accents.

These are the difficulties of scriptural interpretation. They are found by the natural reason, not made by it. Spinoza does not record them to make light of the Bible, but to bring light to it. One thing they make clear and distinct; no one can with reason force a single, literal interpretation. Irrational, dogmatic authority is defied by the evidence within the Book, as well as by the spirit of Spinoza.

For those who insisted a supernatural light is necessary for the interpretation of the Bible, Spinoza had his answer. Every man has the right of freedom to do his own thinking and the only rule should be the use of the natural light of reason. An external authority, philosophical, theological, or political in these matters would be ridiculous in the face of the variety of possible views. The actual text of the Scripture is faulty, mutilated, inconsistent, fragmentary, and tampered with. The text is not the Word of God, but paper and ink. It is the Word of God only when it stirs one to devotion to Him. God is the author of the Bible in the sense that true religion is found therein, namely, "to love God above all things and one's neighbor as one's self."

Here Spinoza took his stand, for freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom from unreason. It was also an effort to set himself right with the people, whose prejudices and attacks he had incurred. The motives appear in a letter he wrote to his friend Oldenburg.

I am now writing a treatise about my interpretation of Scripture. I am driven to do this for the following reasons: (1) The prejudices of the theologians: For I know that these are among the chief obstacles which prevent men from directing their minds to philosophy; and therefore I do all I can to expose them and to remove them from the minds of the more prudent. (2) The opinion which the common people have of me, who do not cease to accuse me falsely of atheism. I am also obliged to avert this accusation as far as it is possible to do so. (3) The freedom of philosophizing and of saying what we think: This I desire to vindicate in

every way, for here it is always suppressed through the excessive authority and impudence of the preachers.8

When the work was finished Spinoza, too, was free. Now he could return to his philosophical searching. His utterance had been made. It was clear where he stood, what he fought for. To that deep, inner prodding he responded now. For the most part his mind had one direction alone; his feeble body one service to render; his pen one message to write; it was truth. Slowly, painfully, irrevocably it drove him to expression. But what is it? What is truth?

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This brings us to the philosophy of Spinoza. It is possible only in reflection to separate his philosophy and his life. The man and his point of view were nearly one. Of all thinkers, in all centuries, here was a man who came nearest being the perfect exemplification of his thought. Never a compromise; almost never a loss of poise; never a lapse from loyalty to that which is the heart of his belief—supreme happiness for man is found only in the life of reason.

But we are getting somewhat ahead of our story. Let us bring it into better perspective. The tragic history of his ancestors, the bitter personal humiliation and loss, the exile from home and community, this was coupled to long hours of reading the new philosophy, particularly Descartes; and the result compelled him to raise the questions: What is the supreme good? What is man's real happiness? Here are his own words describing the early part of his intellectual journey.

After experience had taught me that all things which frequently take place in ordinary life are vain and futile; when I saw that all the things I feared and which feared me had nothing good or bad in them save in so far as the mind was affected by them, I determined at last to inquire whether there might be anything which might be truly good and able to communicate its goodness, and by which the mind might be affected to the exclusion of all other things. For the things which most often happen in life and are esteemed as the greatest good of all can be reduced to these three headings: to wit, Riches, Fame, and Pleasure. With these the mind is so engrossed that it can scarcely think of any other good.

Here is the real evil of these finite goods. They engross, distract, deceive, and corrupt the mind which pursues them. The mind which searches for the supreme good must turn away from these disturbances. The account continues:

For I saw myself in the midst of a very great peril and obliged to seek a remedy, however uncertain, with all my energy: like a sick man seized with a deadly

⁸ The Correspondence of Spinona, Ed. A. Wolf. The Dial Press, p. 206.

⁴ Spinoza, Ethics. Everyman's Library edition, p. 227.

disease, who sees death straight before him if he does not find some remedy, is forced to seek it, however uncertain, with all his remaining strength, for in that is all his hope placed. But all those remedies which the multitude follow not only avail nothing for our preservation, but even prevent it; and are often the cause of the death of those who possess them, and are always the death of those who are possessed by them. These evils seem to have arisen from the fact that the whole of happiness or unhappiness is dependent on this alone: on the quality of the object to which we are bound by love. For the sake of something which no one loves, strife never arises, there is no pain if it perishes, no envy if it is possessed by some one else, no fear, nor hatred, and to put it all briefly, no commotions of the mind at all: for all these are consequences only of the love of those things which are perishable. But the love towards a thing eternal and infinite alone feeds the mind with pleasure, and it is free from all pain; so it is much to be desired and to be sought with all our might.

This is the faith that supplants the Hebrew orthodoxy. Is there a philosophy to back it up? The faith has arisen out of his experiences—the philosophy emerges from his thinking. It took twelve years of patient labor to get it expressed. Each sentence is worked and forged and tempered by a passion for truth. Each chapter is fashioned as a necessary step in its direction. There is no flippancy, no easing of the way by illustration, no rest for the reader. This is serious business.

The culmination finally was achieved and the work was published with a revealing title. It was called, Ethics: Proved in Geometrical Order. Is this not a strange partnership, ethics and geometry? If you glance only casually through its pages, you will see that Spinoza's Ethics really does resemble a book on geometry. Here are definitions, axioms, propositions, corollaries, and so on. Each sentence refers to previously proved statements, even as in Euclid. There was, of course, intention, careful, deliberate purposing in choosing such a method. We will see why Spinoza adopted this way if we examine his philosophy.

It is not possible to present the great richness of his thought in a brief time. I aim to deal only with its basic structure in the hope that we may find something to share. We will not elaborate with proofs nor proceed with dialectic. At this moment we shall be interested only in his convictions. Let us begin with this affirmation—it is the foundation of his work. The world is one and it is rational. Now the oneness of the world is not a political, economic, or ethical oneness (although this may be implied); it is rather a logical oneness. The world has on a vast scale the kind of unity exhibited by a rigorous mathematical proof. Every step, every sign, every item is absolutely necessary. It is a rational world because it is completely open to reason—there is no obscure corner of mystery—what is can be understood, because what is, is a magnificent,

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vie wit interdependent, interconnected system of ideas. And now comes the shock—this rigid, necessary system of logical concepts is what Spinoza calls God. Sometimes he calls it nature—sometimes merely substance. But he prefers to call it God.

Thus God is the one real existence, everything else is less than God in realness. Such a deity is obviously not a person. He cannot be Father, nor Judge, nor Creator—yet, says Spinoza, he is divine and to know him is to be led to a peace which the world cannot give or take away. The world is One, the One is God, and God is reality. This is the beginning. What follows? Each of us must to some degree resist this notion, for are there not a multitude of particular objects in this world? Our experiences are primarily with individual things, not with unities. It is this stone, this tree, this pain, this day which seems real to us. Are all the particularities of our world mere illusions? And what of man? He, too, is an object among other objects. Does this mean that like all other things he is a passing ripple on an ocean of being, with no real importance or worth?

We are ready now to lay the second girder in the structure of Spinoza's philosophy. Any thing, including man, may be viewed from two aspects: from the aspect of its independence and its relation to other temporal things, or from its dependence and its relation to the eternal One. When seen from the first point of view all things are found to be rigidly necessary, precisely determined—there is no freedom, no liberty. It is a world of irrevocable causal processes, with consequences following antecedents in irresistible constancy. Let us look at man from the aspect of things. We are caused, sustained, and destroyed by them. We are as finite and transient as they are.

The universe does not exist for our benefit any more than the sea exists for the benefit of any of its waves. We are merely incidents in the total scheme of things—and incidents altogether determined by that scheme. The universe of which we are all a part is governed by immutable laws from which there is no exemption. . . . Man is not the captain of his life's destiny—not even a deckhand on the raft of a day's circumstance. . . . A human being, indeed has no more free will than a stone hurled through the air. He may think he has free will, but that is only because, like the stone in mid-air, he does not know what forces propel him.⁵

But all this is only one aspect of the matter. Man is an incident viewed only with relation to other incidents. He may also be viewed with relation to the Infinite. Then he is no longer seen as a creature

⁵ Lewis Browne, Blessed Spinona. The Macmillan Company, 1932, p. 189, 188.

enslaved by circumstance. Now he sees himself as an essential part of the whole universe. Now he knows himself not as a fleeting manifestation, but as real as God himself—and real because he is a necessary part of God. Once he sees this, man is saved. He rids himself of all bondage to sorrow, despair, and terror. Whatever his lot, he feels no bitterness because things are what they are. It is as absurd for one to complain that he is not an athlete instead of a cripple, or a genius instead of a fool, as it would be for a circle to complain because God had not endowed it with the properties of a sphere.

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Thus man fulfills his destiny when he forgets ephemeral goods and turns to the enduring good. When he releases himself from all the mighty desires that bind him to things and views his life under the aspect of eternity, then and then only does he love God with his whole mind.

Then and then only does he find happiness.

Listen to some of the propositions Spinoza affirms about this God. I do not give you the proof—only his convictions.

"He who understands himself and his emotions loves God."

"This love towards God must occupy the mind chiefly."

"This love towards God is the greatest good which we can desire according to the dictate of reason, and it is common to all men, and we desire that all should enjoy it."

"The human mind in so far as it knows has knowledge of God, and knows that

it exists in God, and is conceived through God." 6

This is as far as we need to go with Spinoza in this hour. There are riches we have not touched. It is not easy to go all the way with him. Indeed we cannot. Many questions may be raised. Are mysteries merely the names for our ignorance? Is the world really rational in every corner and crevice? I sometimes think the whole range of Spinoza's philosophy would have been different if he had ever missed a two-foot putt, or sat for an evening of bridge with nothing higher than a one and a half count. And yet there is stature and magnificence here; there is poise and sanity; there is faith and confidence; there is wisdom, too, and may there not be truth?

We have endured long days of recklessness. We have moved at the killing pace. This is not the natural tempo of man. All our abandon and ruthless eagerness for the preservation of life and things—these were the unhappy gestures of men who forgot or never knew that the world is one, and who failed to see themselves and their acts under the aspect of eternity.

⁶ Ethics, pp. 209-216.

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And now the expected measure of rhythm and order after years of violence has not come. A poised man is a rarity these days. A poised society is nonexistent. We have a theology of crisis, a morality of license, an economics of greed, a political theory of expediency—all fashioned to fit man in haste, man on the run, man as a thing.

That is why I have reminded you of that gentle philosopher of the Jews—Baruch Spinoza. From him we may learn that the world is one, that the world is God, that man is in the world and thus in God. To see this is to see ourselves under the aspect of eternity. To see this means that never again will we see ourselves or our fellows as merely cheap things.

To see this is to be filled with the peace which the eternal brings; to see this is to walk amid distraction, fear, misfortune, and death, and to keep from stumbling because the mind's direction is clear.

Our world may not find all its answers in Spinoza—but certainly we could find balance, courage, perspective and sanity; we could find release from distorted self-conceit, or cramped self-abasement, and gain a wider, clearer, and more honest appraisal of ourselves and our relations to the world about. Is this not a necessary amendment to the squirming, scampering, impatient activity we call modern living?

At the dedication of the statue of Spinoza at the Hague, in 1882, Ernest Renan delivered an address ending with the following words: "Woe to him who in passing should hurl an insult at this gentle and pensive head! He would be punished, as all vulgar souls are punished, by his very vulgarity, and by his incapacity to conceive what is divine. This man from his granite pedestal will point out to all men the way of blessedness which he found; and ages hence, the cultivated traveler, passing by this spot, will say in his heart: 'The truest vision ever had of God came, perhaps, here.'" His own people cast him out crying, "monster," "atheist." Novalis called him the "God-intoxicated man." Both views are distortions. He was one who saw things under the aspect of eternity—which may mean that he found life in religion and religion in life.

Japan Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

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CLAUDE E. STRAIT

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ON DECEMBER 7, 1941, the "Rising Sun" had reached its zenith. Its beams were cast over practically every island in the Pacific and countries bordering Asia. It was soon discovered that our struggle was not simply against men, planes, ships, and bombs. It was against an ideological power which had been in existence for hundreds of years. This ideology was a faith in something divine—the ancient religion of emperor worship combined with a more recent conception, "Divine Japan," whose mission was to conquer the world. Germany tried to obliterate a religion—Japan invented one.

The Japanese people were taught that theirs was a "holy war." Japan must be the savior of the world. Her state structure was the strongest in the world, and her aim was to bring less fortunate nations under her leadership. Contrary to much propaganda about Japan, we who were there for more than two years and a half have learned that sixty million people were subservient to ten million. Belief in divinity of the Emperor and in Kami-kaze (divine wind which created storms on the sea to upset opposing naval forces); suicide pilots; never-surrendering infantrymen; tillers of the soil who sacrificed to feed their soldiers; stern discipline; exact obedience—all these had their origin in Shintoism.

Loyalty to such beliefs and practices was the first requisite of a "good Japanese." If one chose to accept some other faith besides, these beliefs still permeated his heart, mind, and soul. Such convictions were inculcated in his home life, education, business, agriculture, industry, and recreation. His first primary duty was to the state. Action on Guadalcanal, Guam, Iwo Jima, Okinawa proved these ideals dominant.

But as each island was conquered, and the allied armies closed in on Japan, clouds gathered around the Rising Sun. In August, with the dropping of the atomic bomb, her naval power destroyed, industrial plants

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bombed, starvation facing the people, the Rising Sun sank. For the first time the people knew the real truth about the war. They were left in a state of disillusionment and a spiritual void.

When I landed at Atsugi Airfield, near Tokyo, on October 30, 1945, Japan was enveloped in darkness. It was a long night, for I slept little. I was avid to get a glimpse of these strange people—to see with my own eyes the devastation wrought by war. Other questions confronted me. Would our lives be safe? Would underground movements and sabotage be prevalent? What would be their attitude toward us, and what would be the outcome of the occupation? Was there a possibility of political, social, economic, and religious rebirth? The twenty-nine months of duty in Japan were a revelation to me, as it has been to the Far East, to America, and perhaps to the entire world. The above questions have been answered even more satisfactorily than I could have anticipated.

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On the morning of October 31, I saw all around Atsugi Airfield mountainous piles of destroyed planes and weapons of all kinds. In the villages near the base I saw the Japanese women in their native dress or kimonos, most of them with babies strapped on their backs. Many of the men were wearing the remains of their army uniforms, and everyone wore wooden shoes or getas. We made an inspection trip to Tokyo, through Yokohama, and it seemed that the entire area between these two cities was one long stretch of ruins—the fantastic remains of twisted steel and iron, empty brick or cement walls, tall smokestacks, which once had been large factories, thriving business communities, and homes. It was not uncommon to see grown people and children, dirty and ragged, wandering about the streets, evidently hungry and ill-fed.

Today, there is quite a different picture in Japan from the one I first saw in 1945. In the cities, villages, and rural sections, a great change has taken place—a change brought about by initiative, sheer will, and hard work. Much of the debris has been removed or piled up in huge heaps. New frame buildings, or tin shacks from ruins and wreckage, have been built for homes and places of business. Numerous garden plots and natural vegetation now partly cover many war scars. Factories are again in operation, and smoke pours from many of the tall stacks that were cold and silent. Thousands of little shops and "stalls" are again stocked with merchandise. Larger stores are doing a thriving business. The crowded streets indicate business is active, that many people are going to and from their work.

From the beginning of the occupation the friendliness of the people

has been noticeable. At first they seemed afraid, but now the children no longer run and hide at the sight of an American. They yell "hallo" and "goo-by" when a jeep passes by. The boys (all ages) play American baseball in the less crowded streets and empty lots. Generally speaking, the Americans have been kind and considerate. The Japanese people now appear cleaner, better dressed, and seem to be cheerful. Many have adopted the Western style of dress, especially in the cities.

Why is Japan considered by many as one of the brightest spots in the world today? What has changed a nation, almost overnight, to such a noticeable degree—a nation bound by ancient mythological teachings and concepts—and placed her on the road to self-sufficiency and recovery? It is almost unbelievable that Japan now enjoys a greater stability and the hope of a quicker economic recovery than other nations who were our wartime allies. This nation which was under an almost complete blockade had to build from the ground up. Nevertheless, her production has risen to forty-five per cent of the prewar level. It is encouraging—even amazing. Why?

First, we who are Christians, as well as those who are not, should thank God for the emphasis placed on Christian leadership under the direction of General Douglas MacArthur. The principles of Christianity have been applied in a country which we have always classified as pagan. The policies of General MacArthur lead one to feel that he believes true democracy is based on the same foundation on which our own government is constructed. He has sought to teach the Japanese the true meaning of the dignity of mankind. "It is the spiritual strength which free people muster to sustain a righteous cause, which inevitably must prevail," he has said. "Liberty and morality will bring national stability. Nothing else can."

II

Let us examine a few of the momentous problems which confronted the Japanese occupation and rehabilitation program.

There was a maximum of fear and confusion. One hundred and twenty cities had been devastated, four million homes destroyed, and seventy-eight million people had to be fed, clothed, and sheltered. All necessities were scarce or nonexistent. Four thousand schools had been destroyed, and approximately twenty million students had to continue their education. Because of their militaristic ideals many teachers had to be purged. The possibility of an outbreak of disease had to be prevented,

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medical care and supplies provided. Industry was at a standstill due to lack of equipment and materials. Jobs for the workers had to be provided.

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The industrial system centered around one primary factor: coal. There existed a shortage of miners, tools, and equipment, there were inadequate housing and financial difficulties. Japanese feudalism had to be eliminated and Shintoism separated from the state. The Zaibatsu, or financial supporters of the military, had to be dispersed, the war machine completely destroyed, and militant societies broken up. Japanese people in other countries were to be repatriated. Plans for a new government must be inaugurated. The problem of transportation was acute. Railroads could handle only essential materials—maintenance was poor. Automobiles, trucks, and bicycles were idle or impossible to secure; few streetcars and buses were in operating condition. The merchant marine had been reduced to a bare fraction of its prewar capacity.

Today, traffic is heavy. The railroads, streetcars, and an increasing number of buses are running on excellent schedule, though always crowded like sardines in a can. City streets and the main highways are full of automobiles, trucks, and countless bicycles. Under the supervision of American engineers, much-needed repairs and improvements are being made on streets and highways. These had been neglected for approximately six years. The Japanese government plans to spend one billion yen for improvement and construction on national highways in the future. Only twenty per cent of the national highways are paved.

Most of the buildings and reconstruction are of a temporary nature. Elaborate plans are made to build a new Tokyo, comparable to any large American city. In most of the cities, it is hoped that wooden structures can be replaced with fire- and earthquake-proof buildings. Reports indicate it will take perhaps twenty years to provide adequate homes for the Japanese nation. One can imagine the crowded living conditions today. On October 1, 1947, figures for the last census showed the population as 78,140,000, and an increase of 1,250,000 each year since 1945. This is due to the high birth rate and the return of Japanese repatriates. One encouraging factor is that the marriage rate has increased and the rate of divorce shows a decrease.

A representative government of the people, by the people, and for the people exists today. The effect of the constitution has been felt by all in the cities, rural sections, coal-mining regions, and fishing villages. For the first time in her history, Japan has a government of which every representative is chosen by the people. Decentralization has taken place and democratization of local governments has been reinstated.

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During the month of April, 1946, in four separate elections, the people flocked to the polls and selected prefectural governors, municipal mayors, village officials, three hundred members of the Upper Chamber or House of Councilors (comparable to our Senate), 466 members of the House of Representatives (a new legislature), and councilmen for prefectural, municipal, and village bodies.

As in the United States, the Supreme Court established in Japan can denounce any laws that violate the principles laid down by the constitution.

Under the new constitution, the sovereignty of the Emperor has been transferred to the state. He is now only a symbol, possessing no legal power either to approve or veto any Diet measures. In the past year many precedents have been broken by the Emperor. He now makes personal appearances and tours of inspection over the provinces. He permits the common man to converse with him, and even shakes hands. Specialists from all nations are invited to the palace for conference. He grants press and other interviews. He is still worshiped by many Japanese, and to some he remains the head of the Shinto religion.

As to his attitude toward Christianity, he made the statement that he has "the greatest respect for the Christian religion as an influence for social betterment." But he has no intention to change his religion. He is a Shintoist and will continue in the religion of his ancestors. This information was given to Joseph B. Keenan, United States Prosecutor at the war crimes trials in Tokyo. Representatives of both Protestant and Catholic faiths have discussed Christianity with him. He graciously accepted the gift of a specially printed Bible; also a booklet, The Bible and the Nation, containing parts of President Roosevelt's speeches and addresses in which he used biblical quotations and showed knowledge of their value and application.

The new Diet is the supreme organ of the state, and its first meeting was held May 20, 1947. All laws will be made through the Diet. The prime minister is also elected by this body. A small percentage of the representatives of the new government are Christian. This limited group endeavors to put Christian principles into effect. They hold a prayer meeting each morning in the Diet; they also want to set aside a prayer room in the Diet building.

Thus far two general elections have been held in Japan since the

occupation. Four prime ministers have held office. An endeavor has been made to impress upon the people that each qualified individual should vote; that the Japanese voter is responsible for his own government.

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One thing must be remembered. The intelligentsia who formerly controlled Japan have been purged. Reports indicate one million persons have been affected by the purges, representing every occupation and vocation. These individuals can no longer influence industry, economy, government, or any phase of public life. Therefore, new leadership, in most realms, must be trained and substituted.

When a general election is held in the United States, either the Republican or Democratic Party has a majority of representatives in power. In Japan there are several parties struggling to gain a majority. It is imperative that a coalition government shall be in existence for the immediate future. For example, in the general election of April, 1947, the Social Democrats, Democrats, and Peoples' Co-operative Party formed a new coalition government and elected as chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Tetsu Katayama, a lifetime Christian, as prime minister. His party gained the largest number of representatives. For the first time in the history of the nation a Christian prime minister was chosen to lead the people.

Unfortunately, there existed a leftist and rightest group within the party. There was so much friction between these two groups that in March of 1948 it became necessary for Mr. Katayama and his cabinet to resign. A general election was not held. A new prime minister, Hitoshi Ashida, chairman of the Liberal Party, was selected by the Diet. He selected a new coalition government. Rumors are afloat that a short life is predicted for this cabinet.

Even though Mr. Katayama has resigned, he still attempts to keep before the people the idea that only Christian principles will save Japan. Today one of his strong convictions is that Japan must be Christian. He told me just before I departed Japan, in March, 1948, that he was going on a speaking tour to strengthen his party—that he would tell the people that Christianity is the only savior of Japan. He believes that Japan's gigantic problems can be solved by the help of God; the spirit of Christian love and humanism must be exemplified in a democratic nation—otherwise it will fail. He still pleads for the prayers of American Christians for himself and his nation.

We must not become too disturbed about the unrest which no doubt

will continue to exist in the new government. In a democratic government the people will eventually find a representative group which can stabilize the thinking of the nation.

III

A great change has occurred in the field of education. Objectionable war material has been eliminated from the curriculum, military subjects replaced by sports, textbooks censored, modern teaching techniques adapted. Students can now speak openly and express their opinions. SCAP directives concerning changes have been followed closely. A Japanese must now complete nine years of schooling.

There is a lack of buildings and facilities, and of paper for publishing textbooks and magazines. The lack of qualified instructors, however, is perhaps the greatest handicap at present. Buildings and even temples have been borrowed for use as classrooms; some schools operate double shifts. The government officials have pledged their support to improve equipment, increase salaries, sponsor a hot-lunch program, and generally raise the standards of schools, colleges, and universities.

There are thirty-five million boys and girls in Japan under eighteen years of age. This is almost fifty per cent of the population. They hold the key to the future of Japan. To build a democratic Japan, these young people must be taught to be democratic in thought and action. The prevalent idea is to train them for the positions best suited to their individual talents. Only Christian ideals, instilled into their minds, will create an effective desire for a better world, for peace, contentment, and creative power.

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Repeatedly the Japanese have been touched by the demonstration of American generosity and humanity; as, for example, the release of food, and other assistance rendered to the victims of the 1947 flood. But they have been warned that America cannot continue to play the part of Good Samaritan indefinitely. The nation must make strenuous efforts to grow as much food as the land will produce, which is about eighty-five per cent of their needs. Efforts are being made to introduce scientific methods of fishing, fish farming, and to increase the output of marine products.

Economic rehabilitation of Japan cannot be achieved without foreign trade. Only if she is permitted to acquire raw materials and reorganize her own industries can she become a self-sufficient and self-supporting nation. The opening of trade on August 15, 1947, has encouraged busi-

ness, but only a formal peace treaty will make possible world-wide exchange of commodities.

Labor has been granted freedom to organize and the privilege of collective bargaining. Labor unions in Japan number more than twenty thousand, with a membership of more than five million. SCAP encourages the improvement of labor standards, in order both to contribute to the welfare of industry and to increase the quality of products which must be sold on the world market.

Before the war only about thirty per cent of the farmers owned the land they tilled; the remainder was controlled by big landowners. Today and tomorrow thousands of tenant farmers will share the feeling of freedom and pride of independence, thanks to the Land Reform Act, which caused their dream to become a reality. Perhaps five million acres of land will be sold to farmers by 1949. Under this agrarian reform those who till the soil may reap the fruit of their labors.

It was through the influence of Christianity that women received their rightful place in society. If ever women needed to be lifted to a higher plane of existence, it was in Japan. For a long time their lot has been miserable, especially in the poorer families. In Japan, Mother's Day has meant nothing, although they have holy days or holidays for honoring cats, fish, and other animals. So many women have been treated as beasts of burden, carrying heavy loads on their backs, working long hours in the fields, and in addition producing large families. A wife was not permitted even to walk beside her husband, but must always stay behind him. Even in the wealthier homes she never appeared before visitors except to serve them, and rarely attended any social functions. She had no voice in the political realm. A young woman was never permitted to have dates, and marriages were arranged by the families of the young people. I have been told that only about ten per cent of the marriages were happy.

During the occupation many women have expressed surprise and gratitude for the courtesy shown them by Americans. It is most gratifying to see the interest that is shown by women of all classes as they are assuming their rightful place in the new democratic nation. No doubt it will take some time for them to adjust themselves to this new type of freedom, especially in the rural sections, mountainous areas, and fishing villages.

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In the elections held under the new government, women voted and won offices in the legislature for the first time. They are becoming interested in improving their working conditions; and it is hoped that the same type of regulation may be enforced governing hours of employment, care of expectant mothers, day nurseries, etc., as in the more favored sections of the United States. The abolition of legalized prostitution has had a decided effect upon a countless number of women.

Generally speaking, Japanese women have not fully realized the meaning of their emancipation. A broad educational program will be necessary before they can think for themselves. Training is now already being given in cooking, nutrition, child care, sanitation, and other domestic fields. Such training is particularly emphasized in local communities. The formation of women's clubs for social purposes is encouraged.

On the second anniversary of their participation in the general elections, the women of Japan were lauded by General MacArthur for the great strides toward political maturity—expressing his confidence in the leading

role they are to play in the development of the new Japan.

With the exception of dysentery, contagious diseases have decreased to one-seventh of the total during the previous year. Among the factors contributing to these gratifying results are: preventative measures inaugurated by the Allies, including DDT dusting, vaccines, improvements in sanitation methods, control of rodents; clean-up campaigns, anti-tuberculosis campaigns, examination for venereal disease; inspection tours of hospitals and penal institutions, lectures in schools on personal hygiene to create health consciousness, a slight improvement in medical facilities. It was hoped that fifty million people would be inoculated against typhoid by the end of 1947. There is a great need for trained doctors and nurses.

In the hospitals there is still a lack of adequate operating facilities, obsolete operating tables, shortage of surgical instruments, lack of bandages, hypodermic needles, and anesthetics. Very often there is no heat in the hospitals nor fuel to provide hot water or steam for sterilization. The doctors cannot obtain essential drugs, nurses are inadequately trained; both are underpaid.

Dysentery constitutes the greatest health problem, since eighty per cent of the deaths result from this malady. Germs abound in contaminated water or food grown in soil on which human excrement is used as a fertilizer, and are carried by flies—since very few houses, if any, are screened.

Hiroshima is rebuilding perhaps faster than any other city in Japan. It has naturally been given more publicity, and probably more people in other parts of the world are interested in its rebuilding. It is planned to rebuild Hiroshima as a model city, as a memorial, and with the hope of

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eternal peace in the world. Such a plan, it is trusted, will find international support.

On August 6, 1947, the Peace Festival was held. This date is remembered as inaugurating the arrival of peace. General MacArthur in his memorial message to the citizens of Hiroshima said, "For the agonies of that fateful day serve a warning to all men of all races, that the harnessing of nature's force in furtherance of war's destructiveness will progress until the means are at hand to exterminate the human race and destroy the material structure of the modern world. This is the lesson of Hiroshima. God grant that it be not ignored."

One of the places visited in Hiroshima with my former seminary classmate, Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto (one of the heroes mentioned in John Hershey's book, Hiroshima), was the Red Cross Hospital. Words cannot describe my horror when I saw the lasting effects of this powerful weapon. I could not but think that Hiroshima might be the prelude to a worldwide cataclysm. It demonstrates to us that if world peace is not based on Christian principles, another conflict which would plunge the world into unimaginable misery seems possible—if not probable. If only every person could see the pitiful sights, and the suffering of even one of the atom-bomb victims in this hospital, no efforts would be spared to secure an early and everlasting peace.

IV

There has never been a greater opportunity in Japan for the promulgation of Christianity than exists today. Many are seeking to comprehend its message. This statement is substantiated by the eagerness with which Bibles are sought, requests for Bible classes and church buildings, and a decided increase in attendance at religious services. Nevertheless, Christianity has not progressed to the extent anticipated. But it is quite noticeable that when a Japanese does become a Christian he usually tries earnestly to live out its principles.

When The Church of Christ in Japan, consisting of twenty-seven denominational groups, was organized, many expressed hope that this body might become a successful, modern, "universal" Christian church. It was first known as "The United Church of Christ in Japan." In 1946, its membership totaled about 170,000, the strongest united body of Christians in the nation. As denominational differences have hindered progress in America, they have done so to a certain extent in Japan. In a country where less than one per cent of the population are Christians, a unified

church would be of untold advantage. Every possible means should be utilized to permit the Japanese to conclude that "we are one in Christ Jesus." It will be interesting to make a study of this organization; if it is successful, its principles can surely be of value in the United States.

During my pastorate, before the war, I was sometimes reluctant to make a strong appeal for Christian missions. But having seen the results of the untiring efforts of missionaries on remote islands, and in Japan and China, I no longer feel hesitant. It is commonly known that wherever Christianity is predominant, there also exists a higher type of civilization, a way of life based on the moral and spiritual foundation laid in the Holy Scriptures. Therein lies our hope for Japan and the whole Far East. The question is, will America accept the challenge?

In Japan today many Christian workers are focusing their attention upon the rural sections. Some continue to work in their former sections which are being rebuilt. Others are branching out into new fields. During this unique period of prosperity in America, may God grant that the Christian church will hear Japan's desperate cry: Japan must be Christianized—send us many missionaries—help us re-establish our churches, Christian schools, colleges, and construct new ones—provide us with trained instructors for our schools! There are 170,000 Buddhist and 110,000 Shinto priests as compared with 2,000 ministers—teach us how to make more valuable our young men's and young women's organizations. There is a critical paper shortage, so provide us with all types of religious books, magazines, literature, and send us religious films and slides. If America will listen to this appeal, Japan can become a shining example for the entire Far East, perhaps for the whole world.

Some critics estimate that ten to a hundred years are needed for the fulfillment of many of our plans and policies. We have, however, already witnessed changes which seem nothing less than miraculous. In his second aniversary message, General MacArthur said: "History records no other instance wherein the military occupation of a conquered people has been conducted with the emphasis placed, as it has been here, upon the moral values involved between victor and vanquished. Right, rather than might, has been the criterion. The fruits of this policy are now self-evident."

The accomplishment in occupied Japan is a monument to a man's faith and belief in the practical application of the teachings of Christianity. What we have seen with our eyes we cannot refute. Christianity will work if applied.

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A Review of the Quarter's Fiction

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JOHN C. SCHROEDER

IT IS A CURIOUS PARADOX that religion, which is so central in the life of man, should be so difficult a matter for the novelist to portray. The great artist is able to reveal the deep struggles of the human heart; but the obvious impact of religion upon motive and action is not a theme to which most novelists can bring power or insight.

This problem has been made doubly difficult for Lloyd Douglas who not only has to make the religious experience vital and compelling, but has also to retell the Gospel story. He achieves more success with the former; but the latter suffers as have all attempts to rewrite the Bible. The simple, compressed biblical narrative has a power and compulsion which often goes unrecognized only because it is so familiar. Here, for instance, is the way *The Big Fisherman* reads.

"'It is useless,' he went on, 'to sew a patch on an old garment. The worn-out fabric has no strength to support good cloth. It is of no profit to pour active wine into an old, dried, inflexible wineskin.' Turning toward David he asked, 'What do you say, friend?'"

"'Simon,' she exclaimed, 'Has it not occurred to you that Jesus may be wanting you for some great service? Maybe he is training you for it.
... You know!—the way they train soldiers—to endure hardships. The Commander gives them heavy packs to carry and long marches—as they are not told where they are going—or why!'"

The artistic economy of Mark's "Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" has a power and compulsion which makes any paraphrase seem diluted and thin.

The Big Fisherman is a good tale. Fara is the daughter of Herod Antipas and his divorced Arabian wife. When the lovely child reaches maturity, she determines to revenge her humiliated mother. She leaves Arabia, followed by her lover Voldi. The two young people are thrust into the excitement of Palestine during the ministry of the young Galilean carpenter. They have come to know Peter, the big burly fisherman who is wrestling with his skepticism as he watches the miracle worker and lis-

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tens to his captivating voice. The story then covers Peter's career as he follows his Master. It does not succeed in making vivid the events of Peter's life after the crucifixion, when, no longer a disciple, he has be-

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The background of *The Big Fisherman* is the conflict between Christ and Caesar and much of the detail of the life of a people ruled by an arrogant conqueror is described with knowledgeable imagination. A great deal of the book is given over to the romantic tale of the young lovers. The character of Peter seems to come alive. He owns a fleet of fishing boats and employs the sons of Zebedee, who are petulant, ambitious young men easily angered and hard to live with. It must be very difficult to make the person of Jesus real in a book of this sort. He appears on these pages principally as a miracle worker, a man with a soft voice and compelling eyes. *The Big Fisherman* is worth reading, but it does not succeed in making one understand how such a man with such followers could have changed the world.

Ten years ago The Diary of a Country Priest was published, and now it has been reprinted. This moving story of an authentically humble, religious man is one of the few great religious novels of our time. The curé is of peasant stock. His love of his parish leads him to neglect the needs of his own seriously ill body. His utter honesty about himself enables him to pierce the pretensions of all those whose pride blinds them to the true nature of life. He knows that his sophisticated clerical superiors scorn him, but their casuistry has only tangled them in worldliness and disillusion. His patched garments are shoddy as he calls on the noble family of the neighborhood; but their pride has only blinded them to the fact of their own decadence. The friend of his youth can get no real help in his bewilderment until he turns to this man of God whose honesty alone can offer help to his despair.

Bernanos has the ability and artistry which probes deep into human motives. The young priest has been listening to the skeptical doctor inveigh against religion, and then he says to himself, "I know I have very little experience, yet I seem constantly to recognize a certain inflection betraying some profound spiritual hurt. Others might then perhaps be able to find the right words to appease and persuade. I don't know such words. True pain coming out of a man belongs primarily to God, it seems to me. I try and take it humbly to my heart, just as it is. I endeavor to make it mine—to love it. And I understand all the hidden meaning of the expression which has become hackneyed now; to com-

mune with, because I really 'commune' with his pain." The Country Priest has the wisdom which seems to come only to the pure in heart.

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The Diary of a Country Priest is the portrayal of mystical piety set against a worldliness every generation has known. Seldom do we find it; but in this gentle narrative it is revealed in all its strength and all its wisdom.

The Pilgrimage of Peter Strong is not a novel. It is a series of vignettes, telling the story of a young man brought up in the conventionality of American religious life, who knows what the Beloved Community is and searches for it. He learned loyalty at home and sophistication at college. When he gets to India, Burma, and China as a relief worker during the war, he is forever seeking the familiar beautiful in the unfamiliar places. He discovers that "The war had not driven beauty out of the world. Peter doubted whether it would ever be driven out as long as there was God to make it and a man of sensitivity to find it."

He finds pity in men and women and learns its healing power. He sees death over and over again and is not intimidated by it. He weighs the equalities and inequalities among men. "No good was served by his trying to become equal with an Indian beggar or a man in a grave. That was the antic of his self-consciousness. He must minister to people's needs, not to his own self-consciousness."

The Pilgrimage of Peter Strong at first seems sentimental; but its ultimate impression on the reader is sensitivity rather than sentimentality. Paul Geren has lived through a great deal of horror and misery and has come through it with a healthy respect for mankind and a belief that the answer to its quest is not to be found in its immediate dismal failure but in its ultimate hope.

There are two war novels which are on the best-seller lists, both excellent writing, whose realism, however horrible and disgusting, undoubtedly portrays the degradation of our humanity. The Young Lion is the story of three soldiers in the European campaign. Michael Whitacre is a stage manager whose Bohemian life has made him a liberal. The liberalism, however, is not that of conviction but of indecision. He envies those who have beliefs they are ready to fight for. He decides to enter the army as a private, scorning the safe jobs available to people in the entertainment business. Noah Ackerman is a young Jew, gentle and sensitive. He tenderly loves his young wife Hope. His dignity and self-reliance enable him to overcome the brutal life of the army and the anti-Semitism of which he is the victim. Noah can believe in the war even though he will

not believe in the army. A man is brutalized unless he can keep clear a belief in the ultimate end of his enforced action. Noah helps Michael find his faith. Christian Diestl has been a ski instructor in the Austrian Alps. He started as an unenthusiastic Nazi who followed the party only because it seemed able to offer economic help to his country, saving it from humiliation. His story is the story of degeneration in which is seen the perverted decadence of Germany and the corruption of a people under their Nazi masters.

The book contains some remarkable descriptions of battle and of a hospital scene in which a German lieutenant gives the raison d'être of the trained militarist, which for sheer bestiality is unmatched in any of the novels about the war. The Young Lions is not palatable reading, and its shocking portrayal of human depravity makes one realize how easily we forget what happens when human nature is combined with war.

The Crusaders is also a story of the European campaign as seen through the eyes of a propaganda intelligence group. The types seem obvious as they are described. Lieutenant Yates, a former college professor of German, is a sensitive man who has learned to appreciate Sergeant Bing. Bing was born in Germany. The son of refugees to this country, he is forever wondering about himself, speculating whether he possesses the traits he so much abhorred in the Nazis. He is more cynical than Yates, but better able to make clear to the Germans why we were fighting them. These two decent men forever have to try to circumvent the cowardly and corrupt Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughby in order to do their jobs. There are several interesting women in the story; a correspondent who is brittle and hard and sophisticated, and an old German woman who courageously seeks to save the lives of the people in her town. In addition, there are many types of people in Germany, all of whom are portrayed with fine skill and vivid delineation. Upon all of these people the disreputable business of warfare has its corroding effects.

The Crusaders is written with artistic power. While its main theme is a portrayal of what happens to men engaged in a dirty business, it is also concerned with a much more subtle problem—that of depicting the moral struggle which went on in men concerned to persuade the enemy of the rightness of the democratic cause. These thoughtful men were arrayed not only against a people who had been brought up in an alien philosophy, but also against men in their own ranks who had no essential loyalty to democratic ideals and whose greed and selfishness betrayed the cause they represented. This is an admirable novel both as a story and

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as a portrayal of the deeper conflict which goes on within the minds of men who are mature enough to understand what happens to democracy when men have to fight for it.

The Hickory Stick is dedicated to "all those quiet, courageous, intelligent and sensitive men and women in our American high schools who manage truly to educate in spite of professors of education, school boards, P.T.A.'s, and their own colleagues." Responsible people everywhere are concerned about the state of education in the country. It hardly seems possible that it can be as bad as the description of it in The Hickory Stick. This well-written, angry novel nevertheless stirs the conscience. Doug Harris works his way through college, makes Phi Beta Kappa, marries a fine girl, and goes to work as a teacher at \$990 a year. He starts with genuine intellectual ambitions. He has survived the petty feuds of the faddists who run the Department of Education in the University, little men with selfish ambitions.

He first encounters a venal school board. He has to buy his furniture from one member. His wife Nancy almost dies under the hand of an incompetent doctor who has been on the Board for years. The highschool faculty dare not think their own political thoughts or even express their own religious preferences, for fear of dismissal. They are a miserable group of incompetents who seek preferment through flattery and who have neither the competence nor the idealism to fire their students with a love of learning. They are too timid to defend their convictions. "Teachers who work hardest at their jobs are always the ones who get into the most trouble. Doug Harris's story is that of his moral collapse as he makes shipwreck of his family and loses his ideals under the pressure of the mediocrity of his surroundings. True, the superintendent is a fine man, but he eventually is beaten by political changes in the Board. A young minister in the town tries to save Harris from his despair, and courageously and skillfully seeks to bring integrity into the town's life. But as one teacher cynically says, "Smart people don't have a conscience." The teachers with conscience lose their jobs, and the rest are too inept and illequipped to have a conscience.

The Hickory Stick has so few decent characters in it that it is hard to believe it portrays secondary education in America. Nevertheless, it does bring into focus many of the evils of our educational policy and much of the venality and sentimentality that is responsible for the shoddiness of the public-school system in which the nation has taken such pride. Virgil Scott writes a good story with emotional indignation, as he becomes

angry with people in high places and in low who have no idealism about the nation's greatest asset—its youth.

- The Big Fisherman. By LLOYD C. DOUGLAS. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1948. pp. 581. \$3.75.
- The Diary of a Country Priest. By GEORGES BERNANOS. Translated by Pamela Morris. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. pp. 298. \$3.50.
- The Pilgrimage of Peter Strong. By PAUL GEREN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. pp. 229. \$2.75.
- The Young Lions. By IRWIN SHAW. New York: Random House, 1948. pp. 689. \$3.95.
- The Crusaders. By Stefan Heym. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1948. pp. 642. \$3.50.
- The Hickory Stick. By VIRGIL SCOTT. New York: William Morrow & Company, 1948. pp. 749. \$3.95.

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Book Reviews

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The Protestant Era. By PAUL TILLICH. Translated and with a concluding essay by James Luther Adams. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948. pp. xxix-323. \$4.00.

The deeply probing, rich, and wise thought of Professor Tillich is given its most complete expression to date in this volume of essays. They deal with many subjects: with the interpretation of history, faith, the idea of personality, nature and sacrament, Marxism and Christian Socialism. They have been drawn from many sources and, from the earliest to the latest, span a quarter of a century. Yet the coherence of the book and the progression of thought reveal not only the editor's skill but the consistency and dynamic unity of the author's mind, moving amidst and moved by polar attractions and tensions, engaged in a constant dialogue that is no lonely internal debate but active conversation with fate and history, nature and culture. Behind and in and through it all there is the abiding sense of the power of the Unconditioned. It is a deeply religious philosophy which Tillich presents here, in the sense of his own definition of religion: "Religion is ultimate concern; it is the state of being grasped by something unconditional, holy, absolute."

Among the author's leading ideas which these essays develop directly and indirectly are the concepts of kairos, of Protestantism, of sacrament, of religious socialism, and (of course) of the Unconditioned. Among these the idea of Protestantism, as the title indicates, is of special importance. Tillich has been concerned with this problem throughout his career. With his teacher Troeltsch he has discerned the extent to which historic Protestantism is a part of bourgeois culture, a historically relative organization and ideology subject to the criticism which a Marxist interpretation of history levels against it and every like appearance. But, on the other hand, Tillich sees in Protestantism what Troeltsch did not adequately note-the prophetic, ever-living protest, in the name of or by the power of the Unconditioned, against absolutizing any finite form of existence, whether it be a church or the state or economic institutions. In the name of that enduring Protestantism, to which the Reformation gave expression, Tillich protests against the Catholic idea and against the fall of historic Protestantism into the confusion of its words and forms with the transcendent, holy, unconditioned Power. Yet he sees that no such protest can stand alone but must, just because man is moved to ultimate concern, turn to the task of giving form and organization to finite reality. This is the problem to which Tillich always addresses himself. How can perennial Protestantism, the protest against all finite self-sufficiency, be constructive in our day without falling again into the confusions of medieval Catholicism or of middleclass, capitalistic, democratic society-and without profaning, as the latter has done, the sacred quality in natural things in which their relation to the Unconditioned comes to expression?

For Tillich the historian and social theorist, every age is not only directly related to God but must be always aware of that relation if it is not to become destructive and demonic. Each of its structures must point beyond itself; each of its organizations must walk humbly with God. But Tillich is not only historian; he is also always artist, with an aesthetic awareness, a creative and recreative

attitude in the presence of nature and of human artifacts. What as an artist he sees to be important in any culture or church is the symbolic and sacramental sense for the transcendental relations of things without disrespect or violation of their finite form. The new reformation he desires in culture and in church includes art and technology no less than political and economic organization, liturgy and rite

no less than preaching and theology.

In an earlier work Tillich described himself as a man living on the boundary between city and country, between social classes, between theory and practice, etc. This book gives further evidence of the boundary situation in which he finds himself and of the tensions to which he is subject. Yet for this reader it raises the question whether the author has not in part resolved the tensions to a greater extent than he believes to be the case. It seems to be the work of a man whose deeply religious interest is directed more toward the reformation of culture than toward the reformation of the church. This may be the reason why all the Christian categories of thought appear here in a depersonalized and abstract form. God is the Unconditioned, not the all-conditioning Creator and Redeemer. The fullness of time becomes the general category of Kairos. Faith, that intensely personal act of trust in the God who hides and reveals himself in Jesus Christ, is described as "a state of mind in which we are grasped by the power of something unconditional," and this power is "a quality of all beings and objects, the quality of pointing beyond themselves and their finite existence to the infinite, inexhaustible, and unapproachable depth of their meaning and being" (p. 163).

This abstractness may be due to the author's tendency to regard a language which employs symbols of power as less mythological than one which uses symbols of persons. It may be due to preoccupation with the problem of elaborating a theology for cultural society rather than for the church, and so with a tendency to regard the church as a part of culture more than as a new society. In any case this book has greater merit as a contribution to the reformation of Protestant

culture than as a work directed toward the reformation of the church.

H. RICHARD NIEBUHR

The Divinity School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Report to Protestants. By MARCUS BACH. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948. pp. 277. \$3.00.

This is exciting reading—as exciting as a detective story. I read it through at one sitting, my interest being sustained not only by the vivid dramatic accounts of what the author saw and heard and thought and did, but also by increasing wonder as to where he would fetch up. I played fair, and did not peek into the last chapter to find out. If any reader cannot stand the suspense, it would

be well for him to do that, however.

The first hundred pages give a realistic description of the author's failure as a fledgling minister, throughout a pastorate of four years, to unite the Protestant churches of a small town in Kansas. Disillusioned by this experience, he forsook the ministry for a time; but there was no escaping religion, and he did not want to escape it. He plunged into Pentecostalism but could not rest there. He turned to graduate study at the University of Iowa, majoring in speech and drama; and the award of a Rockefeller fellowship in creative writing and research enabled him to make a study of religious groups and cults throughout this country. He gained more or less intimate acquaintance with a wide variety of

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lectur land, preach thorowas we these, ranging from the Old Order Amish, Trappist monks, New Mexico Penitentes, Christian Science, the Oxford Group, and Jehovah's Witnesses, down to sundry types of quasi-religious exploitation that savor of racketeering. Two chapters are devoted to concrete, dramatic descriptions of these, and another chapter to "Crossing Catholic Boundaries."

There are a few inaccuracies (the Evangelical Synod is confused with the Evangelical Church on page 77, though its heritage is clearly enough described elsewhere; there is no warrant for the statement on page 182 that Mrs. Eddy, as a member of the Congregational Church, offered her discovery to Protestantism),

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The last chapter opens with a paragraph which summarizes the author's report to Protestants: "Fifteen years has passed since Fairfield, fifteen years since my fledgling call to be the Lord's watchman, signalling distress from Protestant ramparts. For fifteen years I have followed men and women in their odyssey of faith off the beaten Protestant path. Now I was reporting to the churches of my own faith. Reporting to the pulpit and pew: Protestantism is being challenged from the right and from the left! Reporting: Many Americans are seeking God outside historic churches! Reporting: Many Protestants are seeking the self-unfoldment of their spiritual lives outside Protestantism! Reporting: Twenty million people have identified themselves with non-Protestant movements since the turn of the century! Reporting: Denominationalism is caught in a pincers movement; we are being challenged by right-wing Roman Catholicism and left-wing Reformation, U.S.A.!"

The subtitle of the book is "A Personal Investigation of the Weakness, Need, Vision, and Great Potential of Protestants Today." It deals more explicitly and clearly with the weakness and need of Protestants than with their vision and great potential, which are rather taken for granted than described or grounded in principle. Yet the closing chapter, "The Present Challenge," is positive and hopeful; and its essential message is sound. "My years of research had engraved a conviction immutably upon my heart. Though isolated Protestants were finding spiritual power, though churches here and there were completely serving their people, though laymen's movements were stressing a 'new evangelism,' though Protestantism had unlimited possibilities within the framework of its democratic nature, one great truth needed to be re-emphasized and restated: The strength of the Christian faith is in the individual, and faith demands personal work." The author rightly holds that "The personal religious life must come first in any Prot-

the ecumenical movement rests upon the man and woman in the pew. LUTHER A. WEIGLE

Dean, The Divinity School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

estant plan to fathom the inexhaustible power of faith," and that the strength of

Main Issues Confronting Christendom. By HAROLD A. Bosley. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. pp. xi-204. \$2.50.

The material presented in this excellent and challenging book represents in part lectures delivered at the Pastors' Conference held at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida. Expanded and enriched, they still bear the mark of an inspiring preacher seeking for conviction and commitment on the part of those who read. The thoroughness of treatment, the careful documentation, the breadth of point of view, as well as the wide and varied use of source material is but enhanced by the author's

great skill in choosing the apt phrase and the exact and incisive word. The deep note of passionate belief that the issues before mankind are only to be solved as they are confronted by and interpreted in the light of the basic Christian principles is the

dominant and dominating theme of the study.

This book is, in the words of the author himself, "an attempt to clarify the main issues before the church today." Beginning with an analysis of the spiritual tragedy of our time (which he defines as destruction, artificial idealism, despair, degeneracy, and spiritual exhaustion) and the causes which underlie the spiritual ills of our day, Dean Bosley then moves into a vigorous discussion of the invalid and futile movements which have attempted to lead man from the labyrinth of his despair. Skepticism, "an attitude of disbelief in the reality of God and the trustworthiness of man," is no solution, for even when apparently tenable, it but offered a deeper despair. But now both the march of history and the outreach of the human mind make it a lost cause; lost intellectually, lost socially, lost spiritually. In like fashion intellectualism, the attitude of those who hold that the clue to reality is the effort "to see phenomena in their context," even with its partial values, is shown to be sterile and ultimately resulting in only aimlessness and cynicism. The final end of intellectualism without a religious, one would say more strongly a Christian, perspective is a relativism in values where nothing really matters, not even the intellectual's own effort to see things in their respective relationships.

In chapter five Dean Bosley turns to the heart of the matter when he proposes that religious liberalism presents to the church the only adequate message and method. Recognizing that the term "liberalism" means many things to many men, he makes a careful and discriminating study of the word and the movement which it represents. He defines it as: (1) A philosophy of history which holds that the human enterprise is the scene of the constant activity of God and that God's will can therefore be sought and found in history; (2) a view of truth which holds that truth is one, united and infinite, being in fact God's will for the world; (3) the vital edge of creative, reverent religion. From this follow five contributions by which liberalism in religion points the way for the emerging world: (1) it will be the champion of tolerance; (2) it will strive for a growing unity among the many sects of Protestantism; (3) it will work for a growing co-operation among the religions of the world; (4) it will seek a spiritual unity among the creative efforts of man; (5) it will nurture a new confidence in man. Liberalism is thus a religious view of social responsibility, one according to which all that men plan and do is planned and done under the God of all creation, whose will will have the last word on all our plans and attempted achieve-

ments

In the closing chapters the author discusses the implications of these emphases for the great problems facing mankind; hunger, economic injustices, race relationships, war and peace, democracy, internationalism, and church union. His treatment is able and vigorous with a steady and stirring emphasis upon the church's obligation to provide both the perspective and personnel by which these problems may be properly met. His last chapter is a ringing appeal to the church to move "while time remains," to seize its opportunity, the greatest in two thousand years, "to make the Christian gospel a real alternative in the thinking and the living of men."

To those who have felt that liberalism yielded too easily and quickly before the rising tide of continental theology or neo-orthodoxy, this study by the brilliant young Dean of the Divinity School of Duke University will be a welcome and long-awaited

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lifting again of the challenge of the social gospel and the liberal theology. To others, while welcoming the aggressive treatment of the church and human problems, there will be notable instances of at least too hasty a dismissal of cardinal concepts of the Christian gospel, if not an implicit denial of them. To pass lightly over the Bible with the cursory summary that the most "that a thoughtful student can claim for it is that it contains the deepest insights we have into man's search for God and God's response to man" is to categorically ignore the whole concept of the "Word of God" and places on a remarkably flimsy basis, if it does not invalidate, the whole Christian concept of revelation. One does not need to return to a right fundamentalism to maintain the evangelical insistence on the reality and the uniqueness of the self-revelation of God as his Word is revealed first partially through the prophets, and then fully as the Word of God became incarnate in his Son Jesus Christ. It needs always to be remembered that the church was indeed a community, but the basis for that community was a common faith in the Person who was for them, not the representation of the will of God, but God Incarnate.

Main Issues is an excellent and timely book. Both the liberal and the conservative wings of the church will find it a challenge to a greater commitment and greater service. It presents thus a common meeting ground upon which liberalism and conservatism must stand together, if the church is to survive and successfully solve the "main issues confronting Christendom."

WILLIAM C. FINCH

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Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas.

The Church, the Gospel, and War. Edited by Rufus M. Jones. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. pp. xii-169. \$2.00.

Many Christians of all confessions will find it a moving experience to recall the memory of a great spiritual leader, Rufus Jones, in connection with a matter dear to his soul: the peace testimony. The present volume, introduced by his pen, contains some excellent essays by leading Christian thinkers. No ethical crisis is more acute today than that presented in these eleven essays: war, and its challenge to the Christian.

On the flyleaf of the cover the importance of the book is announced for making "abundantly clear one of the historic positions of the church in regard to war... the pacifist position." Like many "blurbs," though fairly restrained, this goes too far: to the discerning reader it will be abundantly clear that some of the writers take their position squarely in the Christian faith, and testify to the brethren thereof, while others philosophize from another vantage point which occasional references to the church and the gospel do not obscure. Perhaps the key question is whether the crisis requires a reconstituting of the Christian ethos, as some describe it, or whether the crisis is theological: that is, concerning the nature of the gospel itself. If the latter, then the churches whose statesmanlike policy in World War II was to defend the conscientious decision of both soldiers and conscientious objectors cannot continue indefinitely at that level. The articulation of a concern of conscience may be "talked up" over generations, if necessary. If pacifism is, however, the gospel itself, such ambiguity is intolerable. ("It is the faith's core and condition.") (?)

If, in the fullness of time, a new discipline is to be developed in the life of world-minded Christian people, then the matter must be presented in its proper

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form as a testimony to the church. Such a question cannot be settled by appeal to a third party, by righteous reference to those yet unconvinced as constantly wavering "in their allegiance between Spirit and the works of the flesh" (Raven, p. 6), or by prudential philosophy (". . . . no other way of dealing with sin has met with success" Gliddon, p. 21). Certainly no good can come to the church from the technological absurdity once popularized by Richard Gregg's The Power of Non-Violence, and repeated here by Percy Hartill: ". . . . it has within it the power that can transform the evil-doer" (p. 50). How "moral jiu-jitsu" works on an atom-bombing machine eight miles in the air, flying by map or remote control to destroy unseen populations, will remain difficult for most Christians to see! If pacifism or nonresistance (an important distinction of terms, not noted in this work) is to become one expression of the Christian witness, then it must be on a win-or-lose basis. The discussion of such an ethical development must have an eye to Christian history and an ear for the Holy Spirit within the church. Herein is the significance of the essays by Kenneth Scott Latourette and Charles W. Iglehart, and their pre-eminent worth for developing the thoughtful sensitivity of Christian people at this most critical of ethical frontiers.

FRANKLIN H. LITTELL

Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Learning and World Peace. Edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and R. M. MacIver. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. pp. 694. \$6.50.

This volume is the eighth symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life. It contains the papers prepared for and discussed at the Conference held in Philadelphia in Sep-

tember, 1947.

Under the term "learning" in the title of the book are subsumed fourteen areas or subjects of study: philosophy; art; music; letters; natural science; sociology and kindred sciences; psychology; economics; commerce, industry, and labor; law, government, and administration; UNESCO; education; mass education and communication of ideas; religion. Various phases of these disciplines and of scholarship in general are discussed in fifty-nine "papers" and in quite a number of footnote "comments" of varying length, together with responses to the latter by the authors of the papers. All told, 87 representative scholars contributed to the volume and 149 participated in the program.

The papers were written independently of each other and "follow no uniform pattern or procedure." They represent widely divergent points of view, and in this respect have a distinct value as a kind of cross-section of current educated

opinion on the relation of learning to world peace.

If, however, one takes up the volume with the idea that he will find in it a significant contribution to the solution of the peace problem, he is doomed to disappointment. There are many wise observations made on the relation of the various sciences and of philosophy and religion to world peace. But most of them are rather general and obvious in nature, and others are rendered more or less dubious by modifying considerations expressed elsewhere in the book. One of the writers cites "the hoary witticism that if all social scientists were laid end to end they would not reach a conclusion" (p. 239). The same witticism might be applied to other groups of intellectuals, and be illustrated by the diversity of views

to be found in the present volume. Emphasis, for instance, is laid by many of the essayists on the importance of understanding other peoples as a means of avoiding international tensions. But in response to this it is pointed out by Louis Wirth that "the less we knew about the Nazis the better we got along with them" (p. 52). The growth of civilization and dissemination of knowledge are also frequently referred to as self-evident pacific agencies. But, says Sorokin, "with advance of civilization and learning neither the frequency of war nor the cruelty of treatment of the vanquished decreases" (p. 107). "More scientists," says another contributor, "were executed in a single decade in atheist Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia than by the entire rest of the world prior to their existence" (p. 145).

Despite such differences of opinion, however, the book has a wealth of interesting material. This material is not concentrated on the problem of war and peace to the extent that might have been expected. The historical development of the peace movement, for example, and its significance are not brought out as clearly as they might have been. Indeed, it may in general be said that the book is more valuable from the standpoint of "learning" than from that of "world peace." But that is perhaps a natural consequence of the special intellectual interests of the

contributors.

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On the whole, the articles in the book are scholarly and well balanced; and for the most part they are on the side of the angels. Extremes both in thought and modes of expression are avoided. Yet there is, of course, variety of style as well as of viewpoint. There is occasional passion along with the prevailing poise. As illustrative of both we may conclude with the following quotations: "There are some values we must remain 'insane' about, whatever the consequences, whatever the tension. We are all compelled to choose some spiritual basis on which to found our lives and to support those of our neighbors" (p. 19). "Tensions, frictions, and suspicion have always thrived where man has tended to think of himself as God. When he does so he always acts like the devil" (p. 37). "Perhaps the greatest progress toward peace in our time can be expected from specific instruments of international law which are backed by military, economic, and social sanctions to which the majority of nations subscribe unequivocally" (p. 461).

ALBERT C. KNUDSON

Dean Emeritus, Boston University School of Theology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

God Was in Christ. By Donald M. Baillie. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. pp. 213. \$2.75.

God Was in Christ is a major contribution to the constructive Christological literature of the Christian centuries. The theme that sings through the composition is the Pauline confession from I Cor. 15:10 and Gal. 2:20: "I, yet not I." Christ's experience of God followed this pattern. His self-consciousness is traced to its paradoxical achievement through loss in God-consciousness. "Jesus Christ is the One in whom human selfhood fully came to its own and lived its fullest life, as human life ought to be lived, because his human selfhood was wholly yielded to God, so that his whole life was the life of God." Man's experience of God is conceived under a similar pattern described as the Paradox of Grace. Man's confession is, therefore, "I, yet not I, but the Grace of God," for "God gives what he demands, he provides the obedience that he requires."

A further achievement of the book is in providing a "tract of the times," for it is written with full appreciation of the influence and contribution of the "Jesus of History" movement and the Formgeschichte theory of New Testament interpretation within the last century. More contemporary still is the author's recognition that there is presently in some theological circles a departure from any attempt to ground Christology in the life and experience of Jesus. Christology in certain schools of Protestant theology has turned its attention to the "testimony to Christ" and contends that the "Jesus of history is not the same as the Christ of faith."

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Professor Baillie, while acknowledging the corrective in the neo-orthodox emphasis to an overzealous humanism, yet properly calls Christological thought back to a due concern for the genuinely human person of Jesus as its starting point, by noting the interest which the New Testament exhibits in the human character and personality of Jesus. The present problem is therefore set in this form: We must have a Christology, but to be adequate and acceptable it must not dispense with the historic person Jesus; we cannot have Christ without Christology, but we cannot have a Christology apart from Jesus Christ. Christ did not begin as God and only appear to be a man. Neither did he begin as man and grow into divinity. Jesus Christ is truly God and truly man. "Jesus is God and man ἀχορίστως, without boundary." Here is the inescapable paradox wherein is the saving mystery.

The full force of the paradox is emphasized in making it the explanation of Christ and the basis of man's salvation. The Christological paradox is oriented to the supreme paradox in the nature of God himself, who makes absolute demands and then gives what he demands, who calls man to work out his own salvation and then himself wills and works salvation in men's lives. This is the paradox of grace. In tracing the ubiquity of this paradox, the author investigates the traditional doctrine of the atonement. He finds the atonement to rest on a necessary relationship between forgiveness and punishment with the punishment borne by God, for "God himself is regarded as bearing the brunt and paying the price." As God demands,

so also he gives. That which was done on Calvary was done by God.

In a closing chapter the author calls the church to fulfill its high function as the body of Christ. As such, it is God's instrument of reconciliation through the ages. In the chapter, "The Paradox of the Incarnation," Professor Baillie writes appreciatively of the "I-Thou" relationship between man and God which cannot be objectified but is distinguishable as a direct personal relationship. If God can best be known under such relational terms of direct communion (in which judgment this reviewer concurs), then it is difficult to see what is gained by adding the "yet not I," for if the consciousness, will, and work of the "I" are all "swallowed up" (p. 125) in the "Thou," then any meaningful relationship would seem to disappear in the single immense identity of God. Could not one find the wisdom of God in the mind of Christ, the love of God in the heart of Christ, the power of God in the will of Christ, and the righteousness of God in the sinlessness of Christ achieved through Christ's direct personal acquaintance and complete communion with God without the (to this reviewer) questionable suggestion of self-cessation in affirming "yet not I"?

That which Jesus Christ shared with God, and which the Christian shares with God through Christ, is termed the "life" (p. 145). "His life was the very life of God himself." This is an excellent and moving paragraph. However, insofar as "life" here takes the place of "substance" and "nature" in certain earlier Christological systems, it would have been helpful if there had been more precise

clarification of what is meant by the term. In its biblical setting the term has

several meanings, but the one here employed is not clearly indicated.

Professor Baillie, who is Professor of Systematic Theology at St. Andrews, has written with full documentation and the highest scholarship. The style is lucid and flowing. The spirit of the writing, while thoroughly critical, is deeply religious. This book will be read with appreciation and growing understanding by thoughtful layman and scholar alike. Here is a work which eminently deserves the hearing it certainly will be awarded throughout the world Christian community.

GERALD O. McCulloh

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Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois.

The Great Shorter Works of Pascal. Translated, with an introduction, by EMILE CAILLIET and JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1948. pp. 231. \$4.50.

The "revival of Pascal" which is going on steadily about us, both in philosophy and in apologetics, makes this volume both relevant and extremely desirable. Both the student of Pascal and the more casual reader, who would like none the less to know something of Pascal's work beyond the *Pensées* and the *Provincial Letters*, have often been chagrined at the difficulty of obtaining even selections which range beyond these two works. Now the most precious of these are made available in a readable and splendidly arranged text, selected and presented by one of our foremost Pascalian scholars, and introduced by a twenty-three-page commentary which merits consideration on its own account.

The selections themselves consist in some forty-five items, or texts, arranged chronologically, and extending from a letter to his sister (1643) to his will (1662). Many of the texts are letters, excellently and discriminatingly chosen—letters to his sister, his father, to Queen Christina of Sweden, to Father Noël in their controversy over the vacuum, to M. de Fermat, the great geometrician, and to his friends, M. and Mlle. de Rouannez. The important essays, "The Mind of the Geometrician" and "The Art of Persuasion," are included; and the "edifying discourses," "The Conversion of the Sinner," the "Comparison of the Christians of the Earliest Times with Those of Today," "The Station of Noblemen," and "A Short Exposition of the Problem of Grace." Professor Cailliet has also included, and very wisely, the "Memorial" and "The Mystery of Jesus"—so frequently buried, or deprived of their unique intent and quality, by being included in the Pensées. This is true equally of the important "Conversation with Monsieur de Saci on Epictetus and Montaigne," which has been appropriately compared with Plato's dialogues, and which contains in parvo the method and principles of Pascal's entire apologetic.

The rereading of these and other texts which this volume contains renews in one a certain awe and amazement at Pascal's powers, the clarity and balance of his thought, his genius for polemics and for mathematics, the coincidence of thought with religious passion on the highest levels of his work. Not that we have in these fragments the sustained grandeur which has led critics to place the *Pensées* with the work of Aeschylus and Shakespeare and Dante, or the resilient and coiling finesse which made the *Provincial Letters* a model and inspiration to Bossuet and Molière; but we have the origins of these, and they forecast the perfection of the

later works as an arrow leaps from the bow.

This is not to minimize the intrinsic importance of the texts themselves. The "Conversation with M. de Saci" is one of the most important documents in the entire literature of Christian apologetics; and "The Mystery of Jesus" is a unique and supreme achievement in its kind-at once a poem and a prayer, an adoration and a penitence. Pascal's mathematical brilliance is evident in his "Summation of Powers of Numbers" (1654?); in his correspondence with and about Father Noël his style has reached already the fencing suppleness and inescapable accuracy of the Provincial Letters; perfectly cut gems of truth are to be turned up everywhere. There is the admirable fragment of a preface to the treatise on the vacuum, which might well be called an essay on the ancients and the moderns, in which with a literary skill and penetration comparable only with that of John Dryden, he praises the ancients and chooses the moderns-for "the truth is always older than all the opinions which men have held of it and we should be ignoring the nature of truth, if we imagined that truth began at the time when it began to be known." Nevertheless, and despite these glories which every lover of Pascal will know how to cherish, the discriminating reader will feel that Pascal, "the quickener of souls," "perhaps the greatest of all the poets since Plato," is in these pages still emerging into his lofty genius. For there is a lingering pride of intellect in the early writings, and a taint of scholastic dependence in his dealing with doctrines, which falls short of the apologist of the wager.

Professor Cailliet is right, however, to insist on Pascal's biblical realism, which led him to turn from Descartes just as it led Kierkegaard at a later time to turn from Hegel. There is indeed a deep "analogy between Pascal and Kierkegaard." "It is false piety," as Pascal urged, "to preserve peace at the expense of truth." They therefore oppose and expose the growing compromise between the church and the world—and between ourselves and the lesser faiths. And they remind

us that "to attain their mind, we must pass by way of their heart."

STANLEY ROMAINE HOPPER

Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey.

Modern Nationalism and Religion. By Salo WITTMAYER BARON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. pp. x-363. \$5.00.

This reviewer's recent preoccupation with the affairs of practical politics furnishes a sort of alibi for an otherwise inexcusable delay in reporting on one of the most important books of the decade. That immersion in politics also gives a degree of realistic appreciation which no merely theoretical understanding could bring. Baron's discussion of the relation between Christianity and Nationalism (which Shillito called "man's other religion") is excellent theory—and it has no merely

passing relevance to the practical problems of world politics.

"Modern nationalism has displaced religion as the chief factor in human group relationships," argues the author. He proves his thesis with a brilliant historical survey which serves an equally brilliant theoretical analysis. To combat the universality of Catholicism, medieval nationalism worked under the aegis of secularism, thereby providing a curious inverted verification of the truth which later emerges in Erastianism interwoven with individualism. The Reformation was related to the several nationalistic revolts against "foreign" papal control as much as it was related to a widespread disaffection with the then existing state of religion.

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right fact. which theol Thus sired by secularism and mothered by religion, "modern nationalism, in its extreme, has inherited some of the worst attributes of medieval religious fanaticism without any of the latter's redeeming features of mercy and eschatological justice."

In some cases, religion has been an ally of nationalism; in other instances, its rival. In either case, religion has been forced to take a stand. So has nationalism. Nationalism, the child, has played one parent against the other with consummate skill, sometimes using religion, sometimes secularism-whichever best suited the purpose of the hour—and emerging as the lusty brat who now successfully defies the scolding of both parents, but must continually keep both in the house lest he be taken in hand by either one alone. While it may appear that nationalism's principal quarrel is with religion, and vice versa, Baron's analysis makes clear that it is in the warfare of religion and secularism that nationalism finds its opportunity. Even when a political movement has attempted to shunt religion to one side, the very vigor of its assertion has exposed the fact that nationalism cannot avoid the controversy between religion and secularism—that, indeed, it thrives on that controversy. Baron quotes the words of Lenin to clinch his point that nationalism (in this case, in its Communistic version) must at any given moment choose between religion and secularism, and use and control that one which it selects as an ally. "We demand," wrote Lenin in 1905, "that religion should be a private affair as far as the state is concerned, but under no circumstances can we regard religion as a private affair as far as our own party is concerned."

Baron selects four major prophets (Rousseau, Burke, Jefferson, and Fichte) and three epigoni (Maurras, Mussolini, and Rosenberg) to walk through his pages carrying the banners of nationalism. He sets Catholic Interterritorialism, Protestant Individualism, the Caesaro-Papism of Orthodoxy, and Jewish Ethnicism over against each other in chapters of comparison and contrast. If he had added chapters dealing with nationalism and religion in the Muslim world and the Far East, the book would have achieved even greater stature. As it stands, this book is better than any other exploration of the relationship of religion and nationalism of which

this reviewer knows.

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It is not merely a survey. It is solid meat, based on discerning quotation and intelligent summary, and concluding with a chapter on the challenge of the present moment which is almost as provocative and disconcerting as the world events in which the inquiry is set. With national, racial, and cultural divisions harassing the forces of religion, where is the hope that the divisive forces of nationalism can be brought under control? Does hope lie, in part, in the achievement of the half-way house of regionalism, on the road to world order? Certainly, Baron is right in claiming that religion could contribute significantly to the solution of our present troubles if it were more effectively and strongly felt in the battle for human rights. For it is precisely in the struggle for human rights that there can be established "the necessary equilibrium between organized humanity's social responsibility and the right of each state to regulate its internal affairs."

The principal weakness of the book lies in the fact that the author too narrowly selects the "factors" of historical process with which he deals. As R. H. Tawney rightly pointed out, nationalism was an economic fact before it became a political fact. Baron does not sufficiently take into account those dimensions of his problem which are not contained in the arbitrarily selected baskets of church and state, of theology and political science. To give fullest stature to its message, this book must

be read alongside of Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. It then makes excellent good sense—and most disturbing reading.

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California.

The Plight of Freedom. By PAUL SCHERER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. pp. xiv-227. \$2.50.

"Our main emphasis now must be placed on prescription and cure," says Elton Trueblood in Alternative to Futility. This is precisely where Dr. Scherer puts the emphasis in this penetrating work. He is wide awake to the desperate plight of modern man. No cheap optimism floods these pages. No easy road to freedom is revealed. Rather, the author shows us that freedom is in such a low, confused, and tragic plight that if we are to save it we must make an about-face. He helps us to see why we have lost our freedom. He does this with piercing insight, though

he is concerned especially with the cure.

Freedom, he says, flows from five streams. (1) Any freedom worthy of the name—and much of our present freedom is not—must rise from the sovereignty of God. It cannot start with man, but here is where most of our present-day freedom begins. If freedom does not start with God, it does not start at all. (2) It must also rise from the dignity of man; man created by the Eternal as his child. Much of our freedom has vanished because human dignity has disappeared. (3) Real freedom also springs from the revelation of God in Christ Jesus. The Incarnation is the great fact in history. We forget this at our peril; all freedom must be thought of in the light of this revolutionizing fact. (4) The fact that men are brothers also gives rise to freedom. When men forget this, freedom vanishes. (5) The fifth stream is the eternal purpose of Christ. This purpose is tragically ignored in our day. We need to remember "that the most powerful forces at work in every age of the world are the forces that are in line with God's intent."

The saving of freedom from its present plight will be no easy matter. Yet it is a business that all of us must undertake. Many are trying to save freedom, but in the wrong way; they merely add to the chaos. It is better to have nothing to do with chaos than to add to it. The author believes that freedom can be saved and must be saved. It can be saved only if men will fulfill the conditions which are set by the plan and purposes of God. This meant struggle, tears, and crucifixion for Christ; it may mean no less for us. But that is the price. Freedom is not for

sale on the bargain counter.

This book is alive. You can almost feel it breathe. Deep convictions run through every page. It is worth reading for its biblical insights alone. Some of Dr. Scherer's sentences stick like burrs. "The devil never is silly enough to be 100 per cent wrong." "Freedom does not concern itself primarily with the things from which you wish to be free; its primary business is with the things for which you wish to be free." "The faith which twenty centuries have professed we may now have to practice; organize our lives around it: around sacrifice and unselfish devotion and intelligent loyalty, instead of around comfort and willfulness and careless indifference."

This is Dr. Scherer's finest book. What more can one say?

GEORGE A. FALLON

Wesley Methodist Church, Worcester, Massachusetts.

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The Gospel of Suffering and The Lilies of the Field. By Søren Kierke-Gaard. Translated by David F. Swenson and Lillian Marvin Swenson. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. pp. 239. \$2.75.

Kierkegaard's Philosophy of Religion. By Reidar Thomte. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. pp. xiii-227. \$3.50.

From earliest Reformation roots has grown the good and evil tree of Subjective Christianity. Two main branches are anarchic individualism and spiritual inwardness. The Church of England recovered the Reformation inwardness in John Wesley, the Church of Denmark in Søren Aabye Kierkegaard. Professor Thomte has penetrated the essential Kierkegaardian subjectivism, and traced its now familiar and manifold implications with thorough competence, if not with originality. Introductions to Kierkegaard are still useful for the uninitiated lay reader and for use as college textbooks; they are, however, somewhat by-passed by the abundance of primary material now available. Thomte's excellent work will serve admirably for those who prefer the secondary survey to the primary source.

Clearly Kierkegaard's own Gospel of Suffering outshines Thomte's analytical summary both in significance and in compelling interest. The Dane's paradoxical mind is here at its best. Christ, S. K. argues, learned obedience by the things he suffered. His disciples, in one century or in another, can hardly expect to acquire obedience more cheaply. Suffering is not to be understood as an accidental accompaniment of the Christian pilgrimage; it can only be understood as the pilgrimage itself. To S. K. there is "joy in the thought that it is not the Way which is Narrow, but the Narrowness which is the Way." In suffering, the soul is offered an immediate opportunity to elect the obedience of unconditional self-resignation and trust. Only One bore the cross of divine atonement for the sins of the world; but all men must and do enter the Garden of Gethsemane, though not all men choose to pray, "Not my will, but thine be done."

The joyous embrace of suffering is not to be confused with stoic fortitude; it is different in kind. To the believing pilgrim, suffering is precisely the way because it leads to something, namely, to life. And herein lies the Christian's joy in suffering; the suffering, though it increases as the journey advances, is itself the proof that the pilgrim is on the right way, and that the journey will lead to life. Outside of Kierkegaard, it is doubtful if Protestantism has produced anyone comparable to the author of *The Imitation of Christ*, who also embraced affliction as

the joyous way of salvation.

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Man's real frustration, indeed his only frustration, lies, S. K. contends, in his endeavor to escape the cross he is called upon to bear, the cross of repentance, obedience, and faith, the cross of persecution for the Christian witness. In these ignoble efforts his strength, adequate for his task, is dissipated. "He does not lack strength, and a man never really does, but he wastes it; he who should be Master demoralizes his energy. . . . Now he stops the work in order to begin reflecting on it from the beginning, now he works instead of reflecting, now he foolishly pulls on the reins, now he wishes to do both things at once—and in spite of all this he never moves from the place." When he accepts the burden as the way, indecision and doubt are over; with undissipated energy he lifts the load. His soul is flooded with joy, for sorrow is the fruitless dissipation of energy.

The characteristic Kierkegaardian emphasis upon man as absolutely and always guilty before God is here also. The Christian sufferer is joyous because his energy

is not exhausted in the vain endeavor to justify himself in his own eyes, to find reasons why he does not deserve to suffer. Suffering is the way to obedience and faith, and the simple recognition yields joy. "God in heaven strives by throwing the responsibility on the side of the aggressor—when impatience, like a rebel, wishes to attack God, the consciousness of guilt attacks the aggressor, that is, the aggressor comes into conflict with himself."

The aesthetic dilettante, who seems in the majority in twentieth-century America as in nineteenth-century Denmark, will find neither comfort nor self-justification in these Christian discourses. The ethico-religious man will find the sternness attractive for stoic reasons. Only the Christian will find the joy of

faith which sees life at the end of the narrowness which is the way.

DAVID WESLEY SOPER

Chairman, Department of Religion, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin.

A Greater Generation. By Ernest M. Ligon. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. pp. 157. \$2.50.

This is a stimulating, forward-looking book which will be read with keen interest and profit by workers in the field of religious education, and which should have a wider circle of readers among public-school educators who are interested in character education, and among parents. It gives a clear exposition of one of the most comprehensive and challenging projects now going on in character education, namely, the

Union College Character Education Project at Schenectady, New York.

The book sets forth the principles and methods of character education which have been developed in the project. It seeks to answer questions which are asked by persons interested in the experiment, and to help those engaged in character education to understand the principles involved and how to apply them. There is an index of ninety-five questions which people ask concerning the experiment, and references to the pages in the text where the answers may be found. The book is said to be primarily for parents, but all interested in the development of Christian character will find here a discussion of deep interest and of great value. The interest is sustained throughout, and the end impression is of a splendid and far-reaching experiment in one of the most challenging areas of modern life. One cannot help wishing that Chapter XVII, "It Takes Time to Teach," could be printed in pamphlet form and made required reading for all church-school teachers.

The book has two parts, which give the key to the author's point of view: the role of science in the problem of character; and the role of religion in the problem of character. Dr. Ligon maintains vigorously that science and religion are indispensable factors in effective character education, and he seeks to apply the scientific method in the development of attitudes, attitude formation being the only effective

character education.

The basic convictions of the author are set forth vigorously. The laws of character development are declared to be "as definite a part of the very nature of things as the laws of the physical universe," and these are to be discovered by research, not gathered from personal opinion. A greater generation on the foundation of Christian character is possible now, and for the accomplishment of this all Christendom should unite. Stress is laid upon the five major steps in the learning process, all of which must be taken if character is to result. These are exposure, repetition, understanding, conviction, and application.

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"He as truth a truth c be with the dea in favo imperat The first impression that will come to some will be that the procedure suggested is outside the bounds of possibility. Where can parents and teachers be found to give the time and energy demanded by such a program? The answer to this is that they have been found—large numbers of them, and that the challenge of a program such as this attracts some excellent workers who would not otherwise be enlisted. This book is a welcome rebuke to the "hit-and-miss," indefinite activities that mark so much of religious education. A professor of religious education said to me recently that he intended to make the book required reading for all students enrolled in his courses, and that expresses my own view of its interest and value.

Dr. Ligon has written two previous volumes and various magazine articles related to the project, and the November-December, 1944, issue of *Religious Education* contains a valuable series of articles concerning it: a summary of the work done, appraisal of the experiment by four religious educators, and a reply by Dr. Ligon.

SANDFORD FLEMING

President, Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, Berkeley, California.

The Symbol of the Faith: A Study of the Apostles' Creed. By George Hedley. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. pp. xi-173. \$2.50.

This brief study is an attempt to interpret the Apostles' Creed in terms of its history and of modern thought. In effect, Dr. Hedley offers us something of his own search for a *Credo* which conserves the eternal values and symbolic richness of the traditional affirmations, yet is acceptable to the modern mind and spirit.

The book is simply and clearly written, most of the chapters having been presented originally as sermons at the Mills College Chapel. The historical materials are skillfully interwoven and effectively used in helping the reader to place

the creed in its proper setting.

In addition to specific discussions of each of the phrases of the creed, the seventeen chapters of the book include a suggestive account of the development of the creed and its role in the church, with emphasis not only on the general acceptance of the creed but also on the relative freedom which churches assume regarding its form and interpretation. There is a chapter on "The Surprising Silence" of the creed about the events of Jesus' life and his teaching, and introductory and concluding statements about the nature of belief and the symbolic value of the creed as a whole.

Dr. Hedley quite frankly affirms that almost nothing in the creed can be accepted literally by the modern mind, but feels that the creed conveys (better than any modern statement could) eternal truths or "moral values" which are more fundamental than "historical detail and theological framework." The creed is useful only as its essential meanings and values are understood; it is thus "a means

to the apprehension of values."

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We may indicate some examples of this approach. Referring to the phrase, "He ascended into heaven," Dr. Hedley asserts that "it is value and not event, it is truth and not fact, that gives meaning to our creedal statement." In this case the truth conveyed is that Jesus has led the way to fullness of life and that we may be with him by following him. In treating the affirmation, "He rose again from the dead," the author tells us that the "external form" is to be set aside as irrelevance, in favor of the certainty that Jesus' personality, his love, his gentleness, his moral imperatives could never die. The distinction between truth and fact is crucial also

in the consideration of "Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord," where Dr. Hedley holds Jesus was, whereas "the Christ indeed is, is savior from sin and redeemer from moral destruction, for all who find him thus to be; and this quite independently, in logic and in experience alike, of all consideration of the historical Jesus." Elsewhere, of course, the author emphasizes that the main burden of the creed is to show the genuine humanity of Jesus.

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Each reader must judge for himself whether this analysis of the nature of Christian faith is adequate. But the crucial question may be noted here, whether this sort of interpretation is really a statement of what the creed says. That is, is Dr. Hedley justified in seeing only a verbal difference between the naïve creedal statements in terms of historical and physical events, and philosophical language about eternal truths?

CLAUDE WELCH

Department of Religion, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Doors Into Life. By Douglas V. Steere. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. pp. 189. \$2.00.

The glory of the Christian tradition is its ability to speak to all spiritual conditions of persons. It is estimated that at least seven theologies about Jesus can be found in the New Testament. Similarly, through the Christian centuries the various saints and the seers have found in Jesus' insights "the way, the truth, and the life," irrespective of century, personal condition, or culture. Doors Into Life portrays five of the great Christian saints, giants of the devotional life, and their basic guideposts into abundant living.

Gerhard Groote in The Initation of Christ (edited later by Thomas à Kempis) "lays bare the cross and keeps it bare." Francis de Sales in Introduction to the Devout Life gives "a book of nursery exercises for a nursery-school beginner in private prayer and in the agile service of God." John Woolman in his Journal "unites the life of prayer and worship and social concern." Søren Kierkegaard in Purity of Heart portrays "the ax that is laid at the root of the barren fig tree to remind it that after the reprieve that was granted it to permit of one more dunging, if there is still no fruit, it will be removed." And Baron von Hügel in his Letters gives "a witness to the great health of the religious life that embraces every phase of our being." Coming out of six centuries and five cultures, these great saints and their classics speak a timeless word to modern man.

In 1943, Douglas Steere published On Beginning from Within, one of the most beautiful and penetrating contemporary books on the devotional life, which sounds a clarion call for "a new set of devotional exercises" for modern man. Doors Into Life can well be a companion volume with five personal illustrations for these devotional exercises. From The Imitation of Christ we find directions for our conquest of idle talk, of our desire for "reputation abroad," of our restlessness to move to green pastures, our sensitiveness to criticism, our reluctance to accept the hard way of suffering. From Introduction to the Devout Life, through disciplined meditation on creation, the end of our being created, the benefits of God, on sin, death, judgment, hell, paradise, choice of paradise, choice of the soul for the devout life—we are taught to appreciate the devotional life as a spiritual banquet where we receive a "spiritual nosegay" to remind us of the festivity. From the Journal, we are edified by John Woolman's simplicity of living, his uniting

of devotion to the common life of everyday duties, and his social concern for the underprivileged. In *Purity of Heart*, we are brought to our knees in realization that the existential moment points completely and directly to God, not to our egocentric plans. In the *Letters* we discern a great intellectual soul open to "the givenness of God" as the stimulus to one who said before his death: "Christianity has taught us to care. Caring is the greatest thing in the world. Caring is all that matters."

Scintillating in its insights into devotional living, continuously graphic in apt illustrations, artistically and clearly written, beautifully woven into biographical events of the saints, this book will be a guiding star to all "strangers and pilgrims." My copy is filled with red marks and comments, and yours will be, too. This is a book to be read and reread many times. It will teach you something about five saints, but it will do something more, I am sure—it will make you something, as well. Maybe when you have finished the book you will feel as I did once again, in Leon Bloy's words: "There is only one sorrow—not to be a saint."

THOMAS S. KEPLER

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Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

Let Me Commend. By W. E. SANGSTER. New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948. pp. 150. \$1.75.

Anything that Dr. W. E. Sangster writes on evangelism will be necessary reading for all who are familiar with this notable pastor-evangelist of Westminster Central Hall in the heart of London. While in recent years his voice has been heard increasingly from pulpit and platform in America, this reviewer first became interested in the man and his message through a visit to Central Hall, and later his volumes, Can Methodism Be Born Again? and Path to Perfection and The Christian Has Wings.

The present volume of six chapters comprises the Sam P. Jones Lectures at Emory University. The subtitle is "Realistic Evangelism"; the inference is that Dr. Sangster believes that any evangelism that will meet the needs of the present day is realistic to the extent that it has proved its value, both in the life of the witness and subsequently in the community where it is preached and practiced.

In his first chapter, "The Relevance of Evangelism," the author expands his conviction that the testimony of history is to the effect that the evangelistic message has changed the trend of centuries, and his expressed hope is that evangelism and the evangelistic message will "repeat" in this atomic age. "History has a way of proving the relevance of many things which the wise of this world have wiped contemptuously aside as irrelevant" (p. 17). In illustration Dr. Sangster points to St. Paul at Athens, Augustine in Africa, Luther challenging the Papacy, Wesley saving Britain from bloody revolution, the Pilgrim Fathers laying enduring foundations in America.

In the five lectures that follow the opening chapter, Dr. Sangster deals with the essentials of New Testament evangelism, emphasizing both the message and the methods, and—just as important—the follow-up of evangelism. On this last point he says, "It was the way of John Wesley to impress upon his converts when they came to Christ that something had begun—not that something was finished" (p. 27). Here is the key to doing something for the vast inactive membership of our churches. Indeed the author never overlooks the importance of church membership as the

great field of evangelism, and in his final lecture returns to this hope of making a church both pure and imperishable. As to methods, the lectures contain many fine suggestions and generalizations. However, the reviewer came to the end of Chapter Four, on "Team Evangelism," feeling that Dr. Sangster could himself get some valuable data from the study of visitation evangelism in the United States.

The following will summarize the main impressions which the present re-

viewer received from this worth-while volume:

1. Essential evangelism means: Teach and preach for a decision (p. 118).

2. Vital evangelism must have the right aim—not merely to get people to be good, but to become "new creatures," changed persons through a surrender to Christ (pp. 37, 44).

3. Vital evangelism must sound the Kingdom emphasis. Dr. Sangster makes very clear his insistence upon the social and world vision of New Testament evan-

gelism (pp. 25, 136).

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4. Vital evangelism must be centered in Christ—the Living Christ (p. 26). This means not only the preaching of the Incarnation and Atonement, but also the Resurrection and Pentecost. Indeed Dr. Sangster takes his topic, "Let Me Commend," from his main thesis that realistic evangelism must be a witnessing evangelism.

What I have heard and known
To thee, my friend, I'd tell;
That you may know him whom I know,
Our Lord Emmanuel.

BISHOP RALPH SPAULDING CUSHMAN

The Methodist Church, St. Paul Area, Minnesota.

Still the Bible Speaks. By W. A. SMART. New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948. pp. 171. \$1.75.

This very readable little book is a worthy successor to many that have recently appeared, defending the relevance and worth of the Bible for our times. Replete with illustrations that keep it from being merely polemic, it reflects the lifetime alertness of its author, who has been since 1914 professor of biblical theology at Emory University and a well-known author and lecturer.

Dr. Smart first calls attention to the general recognition of the Bible as a prime source of artistic and literary inspiration, but finds that it is falling into disuse among average Christians, just at the time when we are better able than ever before to appreciate its true character and worth. In part, he holds, this is a result of historical criticism, for as untenable views concerning it have been discarded, there

has also been a tendency to regard it as belonging merely to a past age.

He defines the Bible as "a literary expression of the religious development of the Hebrew people, culminating in the life and teachings of Jesus" (p. 35), and very helpfully explains what are the implications of each word and phrase of this definition. This gives occasion to call attention to erroneous views of Scripture, while stating positively the significance of the developing theology that is there contained. It is held to be the direction in which revelation moves, rather than its content at any one moment, which is the important element. "Jesus has given us a sense of direction, and a new power to follow it" (p. 59). Hence, the direction

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is itself significant, for "the Bible is the record of a process, not merely of the end

results" (p. 88).

Paul S. Minear has spoken of the "spiritual distance" between the biblical writers and ourselves, and this is one reason why we find the Bible hard to read. Rejecting the concept of religion as "functional"—that is, chiefly usable because of its value to us and to our social institutions (pp. 74ff)—Dr. Smart holds that our pagan age, steeped in materialism, has much to learn from the God-centered outlook of prophet, historian, poet, and apostle. For only the Hebrews conceived religion as moral (pp. 100ff), a fact which has tremendous significance in attesting the truth of biblical revelation. The sacredness of personality, which our times deny, is a corollary of the sense of God, so vastly deficient in our day. "We have been told that the Bible is old and out of date . . . and we begin to suspect that the only hope for our modern world lies in it" (p. 113).

In two final chapters, Jesus is held up as the final revelation of God, and the triumph of the Kingdom is set forth as the final goal. Dr. Smart adopts the radical though widely held view of Jesus, that we may see him only through the eyes of others, noting: "We cannot be sure of the words which he spoke, and we cannot reconstruct any consecutive record of his life. We have Jesus as he appeared to the later evangelists, and as they wanted him to appear to their hearers" (p. 116). Nevertheless, says the author, this is our only record, and there can be no doubt that He who is revealed in it surpasses every other revelation before or since. Precisely because Jew and Gentile, high-born and outcast, scholar and man of simple faith have all found in Scripture something that appeals to them and meets their peculiar need, the Scriptures still speak to our day, and will always speak to every day. "Jesus has the secret, and the Bible is the only place where we find him" (p. 138).

In so short a work, the author has, of course, left many things unsaid that might have been included, and he fails to substantiate some of his allegations (e.g., "Paul recognized books as belonging to his Bible which are not in our Protestant

Old Testament") (p. 41).

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There are a few typographical errors (pp. 149, 166), but the restatement of the case for the Scriptures in our time is important. Whatever other emphases might be made, the author has done a real service in making a convincing case on behalf of a revival of the use of the Bible.

GURDON CORNING OXTOBY

San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California.

The Fellowship of the Saints: An Anthology of Christian Devotional Literature. Compiled by Thomas E. Kepler. New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948. pp. 800. \$7.50.

The current year has produced a bumper crop of religious anthologies. To the extent that they provide in a convenient form considered compendiums from a voluminous literature, or, as in the case of the present volume, they serve to remind us that the best and most useful writing is not limited to the contemporary, they serve a useful purpose. In an age which combines a welter of literature with a hurried and unbroken daily tempo, we feel the need for abridgments and digests and synopses. But here, if ever, "a little learning is a dangerous thing." By and large, anthologies are more useful to those who know much about literature than

to those who know little about literature. They are useful to the degree that their purpose is clearly and judiciously conceived, that the selections included are germane to this purpose and are truly representative of the experiences of their authors. Apart from such principles of selection, an anthology degenerates into a miscellany.

It is precisely at these points that the present volume finds its limitations. It is a useful and helpful collection of Christian devotional sources, strongly mystical in bent, sometimes numinous in expression, and uniformly personal in character. It speaks to the inner man. The range of experience is wide and the selections offered are often incidental and even miscellaneous. No clear purpose is apparent to show

why particular selections have been included.

The title is misleading. Despite the compiler's general qualifications for "canonizing" those included, viz., "their interest must have concentrated on the life of prayer and devotion, they must have left among their writings significant interpretations of the spiritual life, and they must have written in prose rather than poetry," the volume is ill-named. The term "saint" has been so construed as to violate its historical and well-defined meaning. In use it has been reduced to colloquial sense. Also, the word "fellowship" would seem to suggest that the authors included have, in point of view or spirit, much in common. As a matter of fact we may doubt if Bernard of Clairvaux would feel at ease in the company of Rudolf Otto, or, better, vice versa, just as it is doubtful that Dionysius the Areopagite would find in Buttrick's Prayer that which would claim and satisfy him, or that the "joy" which Henry N. Wieman seeks is in any significant sense akin to that of Francis of Asisi. These variants are important, more important than chronology and the sequence of centuries.

In selecting an anthology of Christian devotional literature it is of utmost importance to recognize affinities and diversities. It is misleading to imply a common denominator—there are, in fact, many denominators. A collection gains in significance to the degree that affinities are noted, defined and illustrated. In the case of the present volume one may be critical not because the compiler has selected passages from the wrong sources, or has omitted important sources (although the hagiology of some of his moderns may be questioned), or that the passages selected are not typical or representative of the various authors—we must allow a wide latitude of opinion here; one may be critical because in his selection he has failed to take into account the difference in species and genre of Christian devotional experience. His difficulty is a matter of semantics—what these men have been trying to say, and whether there is offered an adequate transcription of their experience, and whether this can be done without regard for the total experience of

the authors quoted.

A correlative criticism is that the selections have been arranged roughly chronologically (ranging from Clement of Rome to Seidenspinner of Racine), whereas the very essence of devotional classics is their timelessness. Also, the compiler has succumbed to the temptation to include too much, which in turn has raised the publication costs until the volume will be denied to many who could profit from it.

Despite these negative comments, this anthology can be used with effectiveness. It calls to mind and provides samples of a wealth of neglected literature. Most of the selections have an inward and deeply spiritual character such as is needed in an age of outward things. They focus the mind on that which is timeless and whose loveliness will never pass away. At a time when the activism of contemporary American Protestantism is threatened by disillusionment and obvious reverses, when

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gifts a ever th to ans the spiritual voice seems to echo in an empty hall of secularism, we find comfort and strength and renewal for the daily task in the words of those who have felt deeply the experience of the Christian faith. In sensing this need and in providing us with a tool which may serve as a starting point, the compiler deserves commendation.

The selections span the twenty centuries of the Christian era and include no less than 137 "saints." Each selection is prefaced by a short introductory paragraph which serves to identify the author and to explain why he is deemed important. The compiler is well acquainted with the literature selected. The format of the volume is attractive, the type is good, a useful bibliography and appendix have been supplied.

RAYMOND P. MORRIS

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The Library, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.

Prospecting for a United Church. By Angus Dun. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. pp. xi-115. \$1.50.

Christian people everywhere are beginning to apprehend more clearly that the Christian church lives within the churches. As this consciousness grows, the sense of need for Christian unity mounts. *Prospecting for a United Church* by the Bishop of Washington, the Rt. Rev. Angus Dun, is a trenchant contribution to an

understanding of the Christian church's nature in America.

The whole of the non-Roman Christian world sensed its oneness in Jesus Christ at Amsterdam. The declaration that "we intend to stay together" promises that "corporated prospecting" for Christian unity will be greatly intensified and deepened. This should be undertaken by Christians and Christian congregations everywhere. How fortunate that we have Angus Dun's book to provide a basis of understanding among the churches whose members, in his definition of the church, constitute a community for the worship of God, possessing both a body and a soul! This community, especially when thought of as a communion, requires communication.

The practice of "ecclesiastical free enterprise" has created a fragmentation of the Christian community that impoverishes and weakens Christ's witness in the world. Economy and efficiency are both set forth as motivating influences in "the will to unity," but the paramount factor is a clearer discerning of "the hand of God at work in his church." Says Bishop Dun, "By the necessity of impoverished congregations, by harsh disclosures of the feebleness and scandal of our competitive and divided witness, by the scorn of men for unintelligible differences, by the prophetic judgment that 'the world is too strong for a divided church,' God has shaken us out of our complacent acceptance of disunity and led us to where we stand."

The central character of the book is an essay in understanding. The author explains three ways in which the churches think of the church. They are: The Catholic idea, which views the church as established by God in its visible, institutional, official character; The Classical Protestant idea, which views the true churches as churches of the Word—the Book; The Fellowship of the Spirit idea, or the followers of the perfect way.

The author's thesis is that the "Great Church" must embody the treasured gifts and graces of each of these concepts, while remembering that Christ is forever the Lord of the Church. "Men are to be confronted with him and summoned to answer him. This is the sovereign encounter of their lives." This thesis is

sound and stands in full harmony with the Amsterdam Covenant: "In seeking him we find one another."

The volume is written in such a way as to appeal both to the thoughtful layman and minister. Denominational executives and church council officers will find that it points the way to a deeper understanding of the significant likenesses and differences among the churches. Young peoples' conference leaders will discover it to be a helpful source for the study and discussion of problems in Christian unity, while church college and university libraries interested in the development of an ecumenical library cannot afford to miss it. This is the first volume in a series contributed by the William Henry Hoover lectureship on Christian Unity, established by the Disciples Divinity House of the University of Chicago.

J. QUINTER MILLER

Associate General Secretary, The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers. Volume II. By LEROY EDWIN FROOM. Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1948. pp. 864. \$5.00.

The first volume of this set of four, which will survey the Jewish backgrounds, the apocalyptic hopes of the Christians under the Roman Empire, and the subsidence of them during the early Middle Ages, is nearly ready for release. This second volume picks up the revival of eschatological concern begun by Joachim of Fiore (to be discussed in Volume 1) and traces its growth through the later Middle Ages, especially in Italy, Bohemia, and England, and in the Reformation climax of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Volume III is already published, and deals with the American colonies and the United States. The last volume, on premillennialism in nineteenth-

century Europe, is partly written.

There is need for a good history in English of the changing conceptions of Christian eschatology. These volumes, however, do little but assemble some materials for such a history. In substance this is a catalogue of summaries of commentaries on the symbolic prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. These tedious speculations are relieved by historical and biographical landscaping, which is pieced out from handbooks and encyclopedias. This background, however, is so general and conventional as to provide almost no help to the understanding of the differing eschatological views of the generations, and perhaps the notion that it should do so would astonish the author. For what he does with it, the background is almost entirely superfluous, and the bulk of the four volumes could profitably be reduced at least by half.

Mr. Froom's general history, however, is not entirely superfluous. He is not merely writing a history of exegesis of the apocalypses, but seeking to reduce the problem to a "science" and establish "sound and irrefutable" principles for unraveling "the divine timetable." The long course of Christian history itself has disproved innumerable proposed explanations of the prophetic symbolism, and verified others, at least to Mr. Froom's satisfaction. The two chief aspects of apocalyptic visions which have been finally clarified by the expositors of these five centuries are the identification of Antichrist and the dates of his predicted reign. Antichrist is not a single individual; no individual could accomplish in one lifetime what Antichrist has to do. Froom accumulates the list of medieval scholars who discerned that Antichrist

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minis form Ther was a system, the corrupt and apostate papal government of the Church. He emphasizes what their more squeamish successors have slighted, that virtually all the great Reformation leaders and symbols, from the Anglican homilies to the Schmalkald Articles and the Helvetic Confession, identify specifically the predicted "Antichrist," "Son of Perdition," the "Little Horn" of Daniel, the "Whore of Babylon," the "Man of Sin," the "Mystery of Iniquity," with the Roman Papacy. This is the distinctive and normative Protestant exegesis for Froom. The rationalist and modernist exegetes who suggest that the apocalyptic writers had in mind much earlier persons and institutions are traced back by Froom to the Jesuit Alcazar, and thus discredited, although he must admit that Calvin also in many ways fathered this interpretation. The second point on which Froom is clear is that the French Revolution marks the end of the "1,260-day" reign of Antichrist. He deplores the fundamentalists who agree with the bulk of Roman Catholics in expecting the reign of Antichrist to come only at the end of history and refuse to recognize how many of the prophecies have already come to pass.

A third element of apocalyptic symbolism which is only partly clarified in these centuries is the thousand-year reign. Classical Protestantism generally agreed with Augustinian Catholicism in equating the millennium with the history of the church and supposing it already near its close. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, Puritanism and pietism followed the Anabaptists in turning rather to the hope that the millennium was yet to begin with the physical Second Advent. From this Adventist position, of course, Mr. Froom himself classifies his predecessors.

JAMES HASTINGS NICHOLS

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Federated Theological Faculty, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

High Wind at Noon. By Allan Knight Chalmers. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. pp. 208. \$2.50.

Allan Knight Chalmers has combined remarkable leadership in the field of social action with extraordinary service to individuals, and therefore, during his eighteen-year ministry in New York, he has been known for "daring Christianity" with application to intimate problems.

High Wind at Noon is his interpretation of the Christian basis for hope. "We are alive in a time of 'destruction wasting at noon day,' but not of the coming of 'dreadful night,'" he says. "It is scarcely noon. The light of the Sun has the length

of the day in it."

Dr. Chalmers makes the point that religion must always be personal, but that it is rapidly becoming a necessary protest against a pagan and powerful culture which seems to have been the only winner so far in the war of the world. He rejects the thesis that in a day of crisis the only salvation is by God's miraculous intervention, and affirms that we are not a lost generation, but as the Sons of God we must maintain a purity of belief in the gospel of Christ's perfection as the goad of our activity and the goal of our being.

Even when there are enough books of sermons, this one will be valuable to the minister. The valid approach to a vital religion, daring to seek individual trans-

formation, and seeking always the Kingdom of God, is captivating.

Dr. Chalmers uses words well. They say what he wants them to say, no more. There is a rich contact with current and classical literature, and for personal enrich-

ment as well as an authentic view of the gospel, High Wind at Noon will provide readers with high hours. The twenty-one sermons are arranged to interpret the dilemma of the liberal, the corporate view and prospects of the Kingdom of God, and the boldness required to fashion a corrective to a corrupt society. Dr. Chalmers gives hope without evasion, and ways of creative Christian adventure without avoiding the opposition.

HAROLD C. CASE

First Methodist Church, Pasadena, California.

Real Living Takes Time. By HAZEN G. WERNER. New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948. pp. 184. \$2.00.

Those who know Bishop Werner and have heard him speak would naturally expect that a volume from his pen would be of high quality. This group of messages lives up to that expectation. One can say many complimentary things about this book, but perhaps the most pertinent is that it comes to grips with the problems that people

everywhere are confronting and deals with them in a vital way.

With his rich background of pastor, counselor, and theological professor, he knows the hopes, fears, ambitions, and obstacles of this generation, and brings a wise and kindly philosophy to bear upon them. His messages are practical and in language that can easily be understood and appreciated. There are many quotations in the book, but they are well chosen and apt. The illustrations suggest wide reading and observant living, and a good thing about them is that they illustrate rather than decorate the sermon. The outlines are logical and the style lucid.

Bishop Werner believes that living takes time, character develops slowly. He writes this book to help people to live greatly despite all handicaps and previous failure. Again and again he urges patience: "We have no time to prepare to live, we are so busy living." The solution, the author believes, is the Christian gospel accepted and lived courageously. He shows how faith in Christ will release new powers within a personality and overcome the hindrances to greater living. There is not a disappointing chapter in this volume, but especially helpful besides the title chapter are "Moonlight Living," "How Evil Gets at You," "You Can't Blame Me," and "How We

Get Our Characters."

The author is skillful in phraseology. Truths become more forceful and certainly easier to remember when presented in a fresh and striking way. Here are a few typical Wernerisms: "Conversion gives a person a chance to grow in the right direction. . . . You are what you have been thinking and doing a long time. Like termites, sentimentalism is destroying the underpinning of our moral strength. . . . A generous impulse does not necessarily mean a generous act. You feel good merely because you have felt sorry. Moonlight living substitutes what is nice for what is real. . . . Our public conversational language has descended to a new low in vulgarity and obscenity. . . . We save our poorest behavior for those we love most. . . . The American home is under an oxygen tent, sick almost unto death. . . . If the Christian pulpit has failed anywhere, it has been at the point of preaching generalities about sin. . . . People turn out very much according to our expectations of them. Some individuals are willing to become vile if only they may become popular. . . . Character is that which is found still standing

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when the crash is over. . . . Temptations are perishable goods, they will wilt and die if they are ignored."

It is no small achievement to write a book of two hundred pages and keep it all in the center of life's interests and needs. Only those who live close to people and know their inner life and are cognizant of present trends in our society can accom-

CLYDE V. HICKERSON

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Barton Heights Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia.

Jesus, Son: A Prayer by Nerses the Grace-filled. Rendered into English by JANE S. WINGATE. New York: The Delphic Press, 1948. pp. 158. \$5.00 (40% discount to the clergy).

Mrs. Wingate's translation of this prayer by Nerses the Grace-filled is a rare contribution to English literature. The author is one of the most outstanding Fathers of the Armenian Church. Not many works composing the ancient and rich tradition of the latter have been translated, due to the difficulty of the language and the re-

stricted number of scholars in the field.

"Grace-filled" is a happy and more exact rendering of the compound term "Shnorh-a-li," instead of the usual "Graceful." It has the advantage of indicating better, as Mrs. Wingate puts it, "the spiritual graces with which he (the author) was endowed." On the other hand it would not be altogether fanciful to suppose that the physical appearance of the venerable catholicos was in harmony with the gentleness

of his soul, as Armenian artists have always portrayed him.

Nerses IV was the son of Apirat, the Armenian prince of Dzovk Castle, of which the ruins are now seen near Gaziantep, Turkey. He was born there around 1100. He received his education in Karmir Vank, a monastery and famous center of learning, under Stephen the Innocent. He was ordained priest at twenty and probably was not over twenty-five when consecrated bishop by his brother Gregory III. He was sixty-six when he took his brother's place for a pontificate that lasted nine years. His enthronement did not mean to him any substantial change in his work, since he had already spent the greater part of his life assisting and often replacing his brother.

Besides being a powerful theologian Nerses was a literary genius; he also had a profound understanding of music and used his talents to enrich and beautify the liturgy of the Armenian Church. Almost no Armenian poetry with meter and rhyme is known before him; he introduced it so successfully that some of his hymns, chants, melodies, and prayers are learned by heart by devout Armenians generation after generation. The love of God, his justice, transcendence and intimacy, and the destructiveness of sin are the themes of his songs, whose simplicity, cadence, depth, and immediacy have seldom been surpassed in works of the same class. Jesus, Son is the outcome of one of his most sincere inspirations. In an introduction to Mrs. Wingate's translation, the reigning catholicos of Cilicia, Garegin I, describes it as a "divine lyric poem, in which, following the chronological order of history, the author leads the reader toward the eternal world, charting the way for the salvation of the human soul, on the basis of his own spiritual experiences."

The themes with which Jesus, Son deals are eternal, and its recent translation into a perfect English makes of it a modern work fulfilling a modern need in these days of uncertainty and spiritual shallowness. The different biblical personalities and stories are presented there with an ever new, masterly skill. Any English-speaking Christian home, if it had *Jesus*, *Son* as a book of devotion and literary enjoyment, would feel greatly indebted to its translator, herself a scholar and a poet.

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J. NERSOYAN

Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.

The Christ of the Poets. By Edwin Mims. New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948. pp. 256. \$2.50.

Poems for Great Days. Compiled by Thomas Curtis Clark and Robert Earl Clark. New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948. pp. 245. \$2.50.

If you love poetry, especially Christian poetry, and want to know how the poets lived and thought and did their work, you will love Dr. Mims's new book, The Christ of the Poets. It is not technical, but beautiful, practical, and

inspiring.

The book presents the greatest Christian poets of the English language, beginning with Edmund Spenser, John Donne, and George Herbert, and ending with T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden, W. B. Yeats, and Stephen Spender. Protestant and Catholic and Negro poets are in the parade. Dr. Mims characterizes the poets, makes known their ideas, but does not attempt to harmonize them. He wants the reader to see the facts as they are, and make up his own mind.

As the reader reads he will appreciate the fact that Dr. Mims, who was thirty years head of the English department at Vanderbilt University, knows poetry and loves Christianity. Only his living with both made this book possible.

Our author points out that from Spenser to Tennyson and Browning great religious poetry was written and received worthy recognition. After that, critics arose preaching "art for art's sake," omitting all religious poems from the anthologies, and trying to sneer them out of existence. These critics are still with us, and they continue to fight the recognition of religious poems. Does no one dare to criticize the modern critics? Yes; such poets as T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden even dare to write Christian poems. This may be a sign of better things to come.

Thirteen chapters of this book deal with a major poet each. The author gives a keen characterization of each one, tells how he lived and wrote and why, and quotes poems by each which glorify Christ and his religion. Other chapters deal with many poets and their problems in much the same way. The poets and poems have been chosen wisely to bring life enrichment to any reader.

All the chapters are splendid, but here are some high points: The chapter on "Milton, Dissenter and Heretic," who becamme immortal by writing religious poetry, will strengthen hearts of oak. The one on "Tennyson, Conqueror of Doubts," is a blazing beacon for these dark times. And the chapter on "Browning, Champion of Faith," will renew smouldering soul-fires. Then the chapter on "Contemporary Poets" will bring comfort and consolation to any Christian reader.

Poems for Great Days contains poems of quality and inspiration for each of the holy days and holidays of our calendar. The book will be read with happy appreciation by all poetry lovers. Anybody will be glad to use this book to help

prepare a program for a club. The teacher can get material from it for special days' programs. The minister and lecturer will want it handy, for in it they will find the best of quotations to drive truth home. Any home will be the richer by putting this book in its library.

CHAUNCEY R. PIETY

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Farmington, Missouri.

The Secret of Inward Peace. By A. Herbert Gray. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. pp. 159. \$2.50.

This is a comforting book, written in language simple enough for high-school students, but through its short, direct sentences shines the wisdom of a full life nearing its eighties. It would be ungrateful to call this little volume platitudinous, for it puts old truths into most gracious form. It holds nothing startlingly new, but the author has long since come to terms with the eternal things. Worn things, but not shopworn. This book is by no means for scholars, for theologians or philosophers. It is for the plainest of all plain men in the street. The author has simply lived among people, and he tells what he has found. God was there, exalting the common life, proving life's experiences to be sacramental.

Can anyone doubt that the attainment of inward peace is the world's most pressing need, or that if it were attained, by those in power and those they represent, the threat of war would diminish to vanishing point and earth might again be fair? "The denial of self is a very difficult achievement, and a very uncongenial one. But it is the price of peace." Aye, there's the rub! People want an easy peace.

A hard peace will never be popular.

The great fundamental premise on which this whole book is based is the Incarnation. "God so loved the world" This great truth is the air which the author breathes. But alas, how many people live in a very different climate! To them a loving God is unacceptable. They cut themselves off from the inward peace so freely offered.

True, God's rain falls on the just and the unjust. It waters both good soil and stony soil. The same rain falls, but different results ensue. True, God's sun shines on the evil and the good. The same sun shines on desert and garden.

The garden blooms with roses and the desert is more barren than before.

If the world would only accept Christ crucified, the problem of inward (and outward) peace would be solved. But the implications of the Incarnation have never been acceptable to the many. So the open secret of inward peace, now

as always, remains only for those who have ears to hear.

One rather minor detail. Why cannot a book by a Scotch minister, written for the British public, be slightly edited to fit the American scene? A few obscure expressions here and there might be translated from English into American. Though fundamentally what is not transferable across the Atlantic is the different

psychological atmosphere.

Here is a call to by-pass the church, if necessary, when returning to Christ. In America the call would be to find Christ in the church, and to funnel one's energy through the church. Does the difference in this approach reflect a difference in temperament between the two peoples? British individualism on the one hand and American group dependence on the other? Or is such a factor as the British state church involved? At any rate, here is a note foreign to American social-

gospelers: "We cannot change the world, but our attitude to it is decided by ourselves."

On the other hand, sentences like the following are for all men in every continent. "He comes to us, but we see him not. He speaks, but we hear not. His presence blesses us, but we do not know that he has been present. He gives us joy and we are made glad by the gift, but do not ask who the Giver was. He has indeed beset us behind and before, but we have hurried on imagining that we were alone. He has healed us, but we knew not our Physician. He stands among us, but we see only other people."

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EDITH LOVE TOY PIERCE

1812 Colfax Street, Evanston, Illinois.

Mahatma Gandhi—An Interpretation. By E. STANLEY JONES. New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948. pp. 160. \$2.00.

This is not a biography. There is no ordered presentation of the facts of Gandhi's life. Rather, this is an interpretation of his significance and the secret of his power. His forty years in India qualify Dr. Jones to make such an interpretation but, in addition, he has the higher qualification of sympathetic attitude and spiritual discernment which enable him to understand the complex character of the Mahatma.

It is impossible to separate Gandhi from the struggle in which his life was spent. Consequently, the book gives much insight into the present Indian situation and outlook. Chief emphasis is given to Gandhi's technique of nonviolent resistance. The author accepts this principle and presents it as the only hope of solution for

world as well as individual conflicts.

Some readers may object to the high regard with which Jones holds the Mahatma. He says, "Gandhi has taught me more of the spirit of Christ than perhaps any other man in East or West." Others may object to the way the author injects his own experiences and beliefs into the book. Both of these characteristics serve, however, to make the presentation much more than an interpretation—it is a gripping challenge to Christianity.

A. STERLING WARD

150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Let's Act—Now! By RICHARD TERRILL BAKER. New York: Friendship Press, 1948. pp. 128. 50¢ (pap.)

This book was written at the request of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, with the help of many church leaders, to furnish the keynote for the Foreign Mission Advance program. The movement began on the publication date of the book, in October, 1948, with a mass meeting at Columbus, Ohio, followed by others in many large cities. Mr. Baker, after travels in thirty-two countries, was well qualified to write this keynote book. He writes very readably about the progressive program of missions, stressing participation by each individual Christian in his own church. The chapters include "Man's Search for Neighborhood," "Let's Get Organized," "What Is This World Church?", a survey of the social, medical, and intellectual needs of other lands, and "Why?" ("Christians must either serve the needs of all God's men better than the communists do, or else prepare to yield ground to them.")

E. H. L.

The Home of the Rural Pastor. By RALPH A. FELTON. Department of the Rural Church, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., 1948. pp. 111. 40¢ (pap.) (3 copies, \$1.00; 100, \$32.00.)

This bulletin is the outcome of a study by a group of graduate students, "to give an accurate picture of the living conditions of rural pastors and to suggest improvements." A total of 1,171 rural parsonages of twelve denominations were studied; both the pastors and their wives were consulted. Ownership of house and furniture, insurance, the pastor's study, kitchen, laundry, house arrangement and equipment, home grounds, recreational facilities, garage, home produce, are discussed in detail, with copious illustrations. A check list, house plans, and table of standard equipment are worked out, with allocation of responsibility to church and pastor.

E. H. L.

The Africa of Albert Schweitzer. By Charles R. Joy and Melvin Arnold. Harper, and Beacon Press, Boston. \$3.75. A beautiful picture-and-text "documentary" on the work at Lambarene, with a short concluding essay by Dr. Schweitzer.

The World's Student Christian Federation. By Ruth Rouse. S.C.M. Press, London. 12s.6d. "The history of the first thirty years told with knowledge and insight by one of its outstanding leaders." Copies can be obtained from the United Student Christian Council, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

The Parson Takes a Wife. By Maria Williams Sheerin. Macmillan. \$2.75. A delightful personal narrative by an Episcopal minister's wife, of life in parishes in Virginia, Tennessee, and Washington, D. C.

A Threefold Cord. By Maude Royden (Mrs. Hudson Shaw). Macmillan. \$2.00. One of life's most difficult situations transformed by three gifted Christian personalities into a great love story.

No Uncertain Sound. Ed. by Ray C. Petry. Westminster. \$4.50. An anthology of "sermons that shaped the pulpit tradition," from the late second century to the Reformation. A gold

mine of sermonic material from Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gregory I, Bede, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, and many more.

The Bhagavadgita. By S. Radha-krishnan. Harper. \$3.50. This central Scripture of Hinduism is presented with introductory essay, Sanskrit texts, English translation, and explanatory notes by a distinguished Hindu scholar. He aims here at the exact rendition of the thought, not the spirit of the poem (for which he recommends Edwin Arnold's rendering).

Studies in Christian Enthusiasm. By Geoffrey F Nuttall. Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. 35¢ Studies of early Quakers representing "moral," "didactic," "emotional," "spiritual" types of enthusiasm, and "enthusiasm run out: the Ranters."

Thinking Christianly. By W. Burnet Easton, Jr. Macmillan. \$2.50. A little book for laymen. "To think Christianly is not to repeat the best thoughts of our best secular thinkers after them, only reclothed in Christian terminology."

Human Adventure in Happy Living. By William L. Stidger. Revell. \$2.00. True stories of great Christian living—some unknown, some well known.

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must preA Call to What Is Vital. By Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan. \$2.00. "This great leader in the Society of Friends has here written his final credo, his faith for a new age."

Questions Jesus Asked. By Clovis G. Chappell. Abingdon-Cokesbury. \$2.00. Seventeen sermons on climactic questions asked by Jesus in his dealings with both multitudes and individuals.

Christian Science and Philosophy. By Henry W. Steiger. Philosophical Library. \$2.75. "The first attempt to present Christian Science as a philosophical system" and "a study of the essential nature of religious healing."

What Can We Believe? By Vergilius Ferm. Philosophical Library. \$3.00. Directed neither to hard-boiled skeptic nor to simple believer, but "that large middle class of persons reared in a positive religious tradition but become lukewarm."

Modern Man's Conflicts. By Dane Rudhyar. Philosophical Library. \$3.75. "A serious effort to synchronize Eastern and Western culture as a prerequisite to the emergence of a new civilization."

What Now for the Jews? By Conrad Hoffman, Jr. Friendship Press. "A Challenge to the Christian Conscience," by the director of the I.M.C.'s Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews."

Our Trespasses. By Martin Jarrett-Kerr. S.C.M. Press. 6s. A study in Christian penitence, "intended to help ordinary intelligent people to find out what a sense of sin really means and what should be done about it."

Making a Go of Life. By Roy L. Smith. Abingdon-Cokesbury. \$1.00. A day-by-day "manual of spiritual experiments," to guide the reader into understanding the laws of the spirit and their application.

Science and Humanity. By F. B. Welbourn. S.C.M. Press. 4s. (pap.) A chaplain and lecturer in physics in a college of Uganda discusses science, Christianity, and ethics.

Christians and the World of Nations. By Vernon H. Holloway. Pilgrim Press. 60¢ A well-balanced reading and study guide for older young people and adults, to "serve in the discussion and clarification of Christian responsibility for international relations."

New Threats to American Freedoms. By Robert E. Cushman. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 143. 22 E. 38th St., New York 16. 20¢. Exposition of the present state of civil liberties.

Children and Religion. By Dora P. Chaplin. Scribner. \$2.50. An unusually successful teacher and parent gives invaluable advice on the religious instruction of the young.

Great Art and Children's Worship. By Jean Louise Smith. Abingdon-Cokesbury. \$2.50. Guidance for teachers and examples of programs.

Youth Fellowship Kit, Vol. VI (formerly the Society Kit). Junior Hi Kit, Vol. V. Both edited by Clyde Allison. Westminster. \$3.00 and \$2.50. Abundant material for programs and projects for these two age groups.

Thoughts of God for Boys and Girls. Ed. by E. F. Welker and A. A. Barber. Harper. \$2.00. A book of family worship, with stories, songs, and prayers phrased in terms of the child's experience; already successful in quarterly pamphlet form.

Millennial Studies. By George L. Murray. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Mich. A fundamentalist but amillennial interpretation based on cateful study of Scripture; the United Presbyterian Church's "Book of the Year."

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